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Torah: A Word-study in the Old Testament[1]

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WHEN a person gets far enough along to understand that the word *torah*, law, is sometimes used to designate the Pentateuch as distinguished from those parts of the Old Testament that are commonly called the Prophets and the Hagiographa, he is in danger of assuming that Pentateuch and *torah* are convertible terms. As a matter of fact this assumption is very common, and leads to many blunders. A study of the usage of the word *torah* is not superfluous.

In five places in the New Testament, including nearly a dozen instances in all, non-pentateuchal passages are cited as written in the law (John 10^{34} 15^{25} 12^{34} Rom. 3^{10-19} 1 Cor. 14^{21}). Proverbs, Isaiah in two places, and several psalms are thus cited. In these citations the term "law" is clearly used to denote a wider body of literature than the Pentateuch, evidently the Old Testament. Inasmuch as whatever is in the Pentateuch is also in the Old Testament, it is impossible to tell, in many instances, which conception of the law the New Testament writer had in mind. It is therefore impossible to tell which is the prevailing usage in the New Testament. A similar double use of the word appears in

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other literature from the time of the New Testament to the present day. The current explanation of these phenomena is that the term *torah* originally denoted the Pentateuch, and came to be applied to other writings by a process of extension. A good many important positions held by scholars of different schools depend on this assumption. Whether the assumption will stand, is a question of some importance, and one which can be settled only by a study of the term as used in the Old Testament.

We need not delay over the derivation of the word. It comes from *yarah*, which denotes the act of shooting arrows or hurling a javelin. All that we need attend to at this point is that *torah* is from the hiphil of the stem, and that the verb in the hiphil is strictly cognate in use to the noun, so that the two ought to be studied together. In this paper we will study them together. Ordinarily we will transfer the noun into English, instead of translating it, and will translate the verb by the corresponding phrase "to give *torah*."

The usage is abundant for the purpose of ascertaining the meaning, the noun occurring more than two hundred times and the verb in the hiphil more than sixty times in the different parts of the Old Testament. This paper is based on the study of all the instances, though its limits restrict it to comparatively few actual citations.

1. In studying the usage, note first that the law or the teaching denoted by *torah* or *horah* is divine law or teaching. To this there are only a very few exceptions in the case of the verb, and probably none in the case of the noun.

In a few instances the hiphil *horah* retains the meaning 'to shoot.' Once it is used of Judah going in advance of his father to Goshen "to give *torah*," that is, to give orders (Gen. 46^{28}). In Prov. 6^{13} it is said concerning the "man of iniquity":

> "He winketh with his eyes, he talketh with his feet,
> He giveth *torah* with his fingers."

But in most of the instances where the verb is used, the directions or teachings in question are either given directly

by Deity, or are given by one who speaks in the name of Deity.

A few times the subject of the verb is a false Deity, or simply some Deity or other. In Habakkuk the men are scored who appeal to a molten image to give lying *torah*, or who look to a dumb stone to give *torah* ($2^{18.19}$). In Isa. 28^{26} the husbandman's Deity is said to give him *torah*. But commonly the subject of the verb is either the one true God or some representative of the true God.

In perhaps one third of the instances the subject is directly either ***Elohim*** or ***Yahaweh***. Yahaweh gives Moses and Aaron *torah* as to what they should say and do before Pharaoh (Ex. $4^{12.15}$). He gave Moses *torah* concerning a tree for healing the bitter fountain (Ex. 15^{25}). At the dedication of the temple he is asked to give Israel *torah* concerning "the good way" (1 Ki. 8^{36}). He gives various persons *torah* "in the way," "in that way thou shalt go," "in a way that he shall choose" (Ps. $25^{8.12}$ 32^{8}). He gives the nations *torah* "out of his ways" (Mic. 4^{2} Isa. 2^{3}). The name ***Elohim*** is less used in this way, but the verb appears twice in Job with ***Elohim*** for subject (34^{32} 36^{22}).

The most prominent use is that in which a prophet or priest gives *torah* as the representative of God. Instances of this are needless, though many are given in the course of this paper. In other instances the subject of the verb is indefinite, or is some person or object, but the teaching given is of the nature of revelation from God. Bezalel is to give *torah* concerning the tabernacle work (Ex. 35^{34}). One of the *toroth* in Leviticus (14^{57}) is for the purpose of giving *torah* concerning the clean and the unclean. In the forty-fifth Psalm the king's right hand gives him *torah* in "terrible things." In various places in the Wisdom books, the fathers or the beasts or the earth or "my father" or Job's friends are said to give *torah*. In some of these places it is clear that the speaker had a divine revelation in mind, and in none of them is it clear that he had not.

So much for the verb. So generally does it denote requirement or teaching that is thought of as coming from

Deity, that this is presumptively its meaning in all cases except where the context clearly shows the contrary. And if this is true of the verb, it is more decidedly true of the noun. There are probably no exceptions to the rule that the Old Testament men think of *torah* as coming from Deity. If there are any exceptions, they are seven or eight of the thirteen instances in which the word occurs in the book of Proverbs, and these, although the revised English version annotates them with the alternative "or, teaching," are not real exceptions. There is nothing to prevent the phrase "the law of thy mother" (1^8 6^{20}) from meaning 'Yahaweh's law as taught thee by thy mother.' Similar statements might be made concerning the phrases "my law" (3^1 4^2 7^2), "their law" (6^{23}, if one accepts the emendation), "a wise man's law" (13^{14}), "a law of loving kindness" (31^{26}). It is easy to understand these to mean simply 'thy mother's teachings,' 'my teachings,' 'the teachings of thy parents,' 'the teachings of a wise man,' 'teachings concerning loving kindness'; but it is just as easy to understand them to mean 'God's revealed will as made known to thee by thy mother, by me, by thy parents, by a wise man, by the "virtuous woman."' Either we must thus interpret these phrases, following the use of the word elsewhere, or we must regard them as a group of exceptions. Elsewhere, at least, the usage is uniform and *torah* is represented as of divine origin.

2. A second point follows from this, or it might be independently made out by reëxamining the instances: *torah* always denotes authoritative command or information. The idea of authority is inseparable alike from the noun and from the verb.

In the English versions the verb is commonly translated "teach." In the revised versions the noun is sometimes annotated with the alternative, "or, teaching." Authors frequently tell us that the noun denotes instruction, and they draw important inferences from this weakened meaning of it. This is commendable so far forth as it is an attempt to disentangle the Old Testament term from misleading associations with the English word "law" or its equivalents in

other languages; but we must limit the attempt carefully, or in rescuing the word from uncongenial company we shall lead it into company that is less congenial. *Torah* and *horah* are never used of teaching or instruction merely in the sense of giving information. They always denote authoritative teaching. With the few exceptions already noted, they denote teaching that is regarded as divinely authoritative. Not that they always express commands; the thing expressed by them may be information and not command; but it is information that is thought of as authoritative, and ordinarily as of divine authority.

3. A third point in the usage concerns the relation of *torah* respectively to the prophets and the priests.

Since these were thought of as in a special sense the representatives of Deity, we should expect that they would be particularly concerned with *torah*, and this expectation is met in the record. According to the record the prophets are the medium through whom *torah* is given from Deity; the priests are the official custodians and administrators of *torah;* the prophets and the priests are, in their respective spheres, the interpreters of *torah*.

a. The prophet is the person through whom Yahaweh reveals his *torah* to Israel.

There are certain general statements to this effect. In Daniel we find the phrase:

"His *toroth*, which he gave before us by the hand of his servants the prophets" (9^{10}).

The record of the downfall of northern Israel says:

"And Yahaweh testified with Israel and with Judah by the hand of every prophet of his, every seer, saying, Turn from your evil ways and keep my commandments, my statutes, according to all the *torah* which I commanded your fathers, and which I sent unto you by the hand of my servants the prophets" (2 Ki. 17^{13}).

And Jeremiah uses this language:

"Thus saith Yahaweh, If ye will not hearken unto me, to walk in my *torah* which I have given before you, to hearken unto the words of my servants the prophets whom I send unto you" (26^{4-5}).

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Such general statements are frequent and they are supported by particular instances in abundance. It was through Nathan the prophet that "the *torah* of mankind" was announced to David (2 Sam. 7^{19}). Sealed written *torah* was given through Isaiah the prophet ($8^{16.20}$). The various *toroth* of the Pentateuch are represented to have been given through Moses the man of God, the greatest of the prophets.

Passages of still a different class give us the same result by suggestion. The confession in Nehemiah's time is that Israel has "cast thy *torah* behind their back, and murdered thy prophets" (Neh. 9^{26}). In Lamentations we read:

"Her king and her captains are among the nations; there is no *torah*, also her prophets have not found vision from Yahaweh" (2^{9}).

And in Isaiah we read of

"lying sons, sons that are not willing to hear the *torah* of Yahaweh; who say to the seers, Ye shall not see," etc. (30^{9-11}).

Instances like these, in which it is either expressed or implied that the prophet is the man through whom Deity reveals *torah*, might be multiplied, but that is needless. I add only two or three in which the verb is used, not the noun. Manoah desired that the Angel, whom he supposed to be a "man of God," might be sent again to give *torah* concerning the son that was to be born (Judg. 13^{8}). That is to say, he regarded the giving of *torah* as the function of the man of God. Isaiah says that the prophet who gives false *torah* is the tail in Judah (9^{15}). Samuel the prophet, after Israel had made a king, promised nevertheless not to cease giving them *torah* (1 Sam. 12^{23}).

b. So much for the prophets. The priests are the guardians of *torah*, but are not its revealing agents.

They are as prominently mentioned in connection with *torah* as are the prophets, but their functions are different. In conjunction with the elders and with the judges or kings, they are the custodians and administrators of the *torah*. Like the prophets they are the interpreters of the *torah*, but they are not law-bringers like the prophets. The conception

is that certain aggregates of *torah*, brought from Deity by men who had prophetic gifts, were placed in the hands of the priests for use.

What the priests had to do with *torah* in general is fairly represented by what they had to do with the so-called "book of the *torah*." The record is that this was written by the prophet Moses and put into the keeping of the priests and elders. They were to keep it safe, and once in seven years were to teach it by public readings (Deut. 31^{9-13}). They were to have charge of the *torah* in the place which Yahaweh should choose, and were to administer it in cases of appeal. The king was to have a copy of the *torah* made from the one that was before "the Levite priests" (Deut. $17^{8-12.\ 18}$). We are told that Jehoshaphat had priests who went through the land on a mission of reform, carrying with them "the book of the *torah* of Yahaweh" (2 Chron. 17^{9}). The prophet Haggai sends men to the priests to ask questions as to a point in the ceremonial *torah* (2^{11-13}).

The verb *horah* is much used in connection with the priests. They are to teach the people, give the people *torah*, concerning leprosy (Deut. 24^{8}). That is, they are to make known and enforce the law on this subject, as it has been committed to them. Aaron and his sons are to teach the sons of Israel, to give the sons of Israel *torah*, all the statutes which God gave by Moses (Lev. 10^{11}). Here their *torah* is the statutes which have already been given through the prophet Moses. Ezekiel says of the priests (44^{23}):

> "And they shall give *torah* to my people between holy and profane,
> And between clean and unclean they shall give knowledge to them."

We are told that the king of Assyria sent the Israelite priest to the foreign populations which he had placed in Samaria,

> "that he might give them *torah*, the usages of the God of the land, . . . how they might fear Yahaweh" (2 Ki. 17^{27-28}).

In these and a large number of like passages the relation of the priest to law is very explicitly defined. He does not, like the prophet, receive *torah* by direct revelation from Deity; but he has charge of *torah* which has already been

revealed, to administer and interpret it. The only sense in which he gives new *torah* is by interpreting the old, answering questions concerning it, making decisions upon it, establishing precedents and usages from it. In these ways he had, of course, a lawgiving function that was of considerable importance.

Some scholars are accustomed to speak of a priestly *torah* and a prophetic *torah*, as if the two differed in their contents. There is no ground for this. There may be passages that are capable of being understood in this way, but there are none that necessarily give this meaning, and none that with any strong probability imply it. The representation rather is that the prophets and the priests had a common body of *torah*, to which they stood in differing relations. They were both expounders of the *torah*, but the prophet was, except as already noted, the sole agent through whom *torah* was revealed.

4. The consideration of these three points prepares us for a fourth, the different forms which *torah* assumed, as indicated by the variant uses of the word.

a. Torah was sometimes oral and sometimes written.

We need not take the trouble to prove that the prophets gave *torah* orally, or that they and the priests gave oral interpretations and oral decisions on questions that arose. It is equally needless to prove the existence of written *torah*. But we have to note that at this point the element of time becomes more important than it has been in the matters thus far discussed. Written *torah* began at an early date. In Isaiah we have an account of *torah* written and sealed ($8^{16.20}$). Hosea, in a passage that has been much discussed (8^{12}), says of Ephraim:

> "I write for him the ten thousand, my *torah*,
> As a stranger they are accounted."

That there was written *torah* from the time of Moses is the testimony of all the numerous passages that speak of Moses writing the law, or of the book of Moses, or of the book of the law; and I suppose that even the scholars who reject

this testimony nevertheless hold that the writing of *torah* was a part of the earliest literary writing in Israel, no matter how many centuries after Moses they may date this.

b. Again, the noun *torah* is subject to the variety of uses which we should expect in the case of a term that was so frequently employed. It is used in the singular, in the plural, collectively, abstractly; it is used definitely or indefinitely, with a subject genitive, with an object genitive. Certain particulars in its use are significant:

First, the term *torah* is applied to any particular divine requirement or other message. It is thus employed indefinitely in the singular, for example (Isa. 8^{16}):

"Bind thou up a testimony, seal a law, among my disciples."

The context shows that the *torah* in this case is a particular message given in writing. The term is also used indefinitely in the plural, for example, "They have transgressed laws" (Isa. 24^{5}). Oftener, however, this sense is expressed by the plural used definitely. In connection with the visit of Jethro, Moses is spoken of as making the people to know the *toroth* of Deity (Ex. $18^{16.\ 20}$). Abraham is commended for keeping Yahaweh's *toroth* (Gen. 26^{5}). At the giving of the manna, Yahaweh rebukes Israel for not keeping his *toroth* (Ex. 16^{28}). Later instances are abundant. For this purpose of denoting a particular message the word is also used definitely in the singular, with the article or with an objective genitive. This is especially frequent in literary titles or subscriptions. "Moses began to declare this *torah*." "This is the *torah* of the burnt-offering." "The *torah* of the plague of leprosy" (Deut. 1^{5} Lev. 7^{37} 13^{59}). Possibly also the term is used to denote a particular message in some instances where it is defined by a subjective genitive. Take, for example, Isaiah's exclamation (1^{10}):

> "Hear ye the word of Yahaweh, ye officials of Sodom!
> Give ear to the *torah* of our God, ye people of Gomorrah!"

Here it is possible, though not necessary, to hold that the *torah* to which the prophet refers is the message which he is in the act of uttering.

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This usage, we should note, is found in the records concerning the exodus and concerning Abraham, in the writings which the older tradition attributes to Moses, and in sections which the analytical critics assign to E and to J. That is to say, you find it, no matter to what critical school you belong, in the earliest extant Israelitish literature as well as in all subsequent periods.

Second, the word *torah* in the singular is used to denote an aggregate of divine messages or requirements. A more specific use with the article, or with a defining subject genitive, will be considered later. For the present we note that this use occurs when the noun has no article, or when the article only indicates that the *torah* spoken of has been defined by the context. An instance without the article occurs in the prayer of Nehemiah:

"And commandedst them commandments and statutes and a *torah*, by the hand of Moses thy servant" (Neh. 9^{14}).

Here, clearly, *torah* denotes the aggregate of the Mosaic requirements or revelation. There are many similar instances, some referring to Moses and some not (*e.g.* Deut. 33^4 Ps. 78^5 Mal. 2^6). Instances with the article, some of them relatively early, will be hereafter mentioned, especially in connection with the book of the law.

Third, this indefinite general use easily passes over into an abstract use. This is generally concealed in the English versions, which render in such cases with the article, but the usage is abundant. It occurs sometimes in plain prose. In Asa's time, says the Chronicler, Judah was "without law-expounding priest and without law," and he says that Jehoshaphat's judges were to be faithful "between law and commandment" (2 Chron. 15^3 19^{10}). But the usage is more frequent in poetry, and is to some extent a matter of poetic diction.

"For out of Zion *torah* shall go forth,
and the word of Yahaweh from Jerusalem" (Isa. 2^3 Mic. 4^2).

"*Torah* will go forth . . . for a light of peoples" (Isa. 51^4).

"Her priests have done violence to *torah*" (Zeph. 3^4).

"Forsakers of *torah* praise a wicked person,
While observers of *torah* contend with them."
"He that guardeth *torah* is a discerning son."
"He turneth away his ear from hearing *torah*,
Also his prayer is an abomination" (Prov. $28^{4.7.9}$).

Fourth, among the uses of the word *torah* one in particular is significant — that in which the definite phrase "the *torah*" designates a certain definite and recognized aggregate. The phrase may of course appear in variant forms: "the *torah* of Yahaweh," "the *torah* of our God," "my *torah*," "thy *torah*," "his *torah*," "the *torah*," "this *torah*." Before discussing this use of the term, let us complete our list of uses.

Fifth, there remains one more case to be noted. It is a matter of natural variation in the use of a word that any part of the *torah*-aggregate may sometimes be called by the name that properly belongs to the whole. For example, the deuteronomic book of the *torah* might by itself be called the *torah*. The relatively brief section inscribed on the altar at Ebal is called "all the words of this *torah*."

Such are the five uses of the term. It is used of a single divine requirement or other message, of an undefined aggregate, in an abstract sense, of the recognized definite aggregate, and, by synecdoche, of the parts of this aggregate. The validity of the general classification is not changed by the fact that the assignment of certain instances would be affected by the critical theories held. Take, for example, "the *torah*" introduced in Deuteronomy 4^{44}. Did the writer intend to intimate that what follows is a single prophetic message, or a relatively brief aggregate of such messages, or a section of the well-known *torah*-aggregate? Your answer to this question will affect your classifying of the passage, but not the categories of the classification itself.

5. With these five uses of the term in mind we take up the question of the nature of "the *torah*" regarded as a single aggregate.

a. The word *torah* might supposably denote the formally recognized aggregate of the *toroth* that have been received

from Deity, whenever it has the definite article or is made definite by some designation of Deity used as a subject genitive. In fact, however, there are several limitations. For, first, the definite phrase may be used of some particular *torah* somehow indicated by the context. Or, second, it may be used of some section or some other lesser aggregate of *toroth*, instead of denoting the great aggregate. Or, third, it may be used vaguely. Or, fourth, it is wide enough to include oral as well as written *torah;* though we must here note that it has especial affiliations with written *torah*, and unquestionably connects itself with the traditions of writings laid up before Yahaweh.

But after eliminating all the instances possible, the use of the phrase to denote one especial aggregate still remains. Necessarily it was a growing aggregate. On this point there should be no difference of opinion between men of differing critical schools, however they might differ in regard to the details of the growth. The *torah* was a body of literature when the term first began to be used in this way, and it enlarged its boundaries afterward.

b. Let us look at a few instances.

First, take a group from the records of the early part of the public career of Moses, from writings which the older tradition ascribes to Moses, and which the analysis now current ascribes to J or E. We have already found these writings mentioning *toroth* in the plural, but they also use the definite phrase in the singular. Israel is to teach the children concerning the passover,

"that the *torah* of Yahaweh may be in thy mouth" (Ex. 13^{9} J).

Giving the manna, Yahaweh chides Israel for not keeping his *toroth* (Ex. 16^{28}), but tests them

"whether they will walk in my *torah*" (Ex. 16^{4} J).

At Sinai Yahaweh says,

"And I will give thee the tables of stone and the *torah* and the commandment which I have written" (Ex. 24^{12} E or E^{2}).

In the first two of these instances and probably in the third also, "the *torah*" is an aggregate. In the third instance, and possibly in the other two, the *torah* is in writing. The men of that generation thought of Yahaweh's requirements not merely as so many *toroth*, but also as a unit, *torah*. Of course, the unit is not here the Pentateuch or the Old Testament; but the mental habit of thinking of Yahaweh's communications to men as aggregated then already existed in Israel; and, since this habit existed, it certainly fastened itself to any written *torah* which they might possess. Whatever be one's critical point of view, this habit was prevalent in Israel in the times of the earliest records.

Second, the conception of "the *torah*" as an aggregate is frequent in Deuteronomy and in the scriptures which presuppose Deuteronomy. Conspicuous here are the passages that speak of the "book of the law," but the conception is also abundantly presented in other passages.

"What great nation is there that hath statutes and judgments so righteous as all this *torah* which I set before you this day?" (Deut. 4^{8}).

It is evident that "this *torah*" here denotes an aggregate of "statutes and judgments," a recognizable, well-known aggregate. And this is the beginning of a line of presentations, extending through the prophets and psalmists and other writings. We read of "the *torah* . . . which Yahaweh commanded the sons of Jacob" (2 Ki. 17^{34}); "the *torah* . . . which he wrote for you" (17^{37}); "the *torah* of Yahaweh" in which Jehu failed to walk (10^{31}), in which the sons of David were to walk (2 Chron. 6^{16}), which Rehoboam forsook (12^{1}), in which the perfect man meditates day and night (Ps. 1^{2}), which is perfect (Ps. 19^{7}), which is better than thousands of gold and silver (Ps. 119^{72}), which Yahaweh will write within his servants (Jer. 31^{33}), which Judah has despised, but for which the coastlands wait (Isa. $42^{24.4}$), which is in the heart of those who know righteousness (Isa. 51^{7}); "the *torah* of Moses my servant" (Mal. 4^{4}).

The basal conception in these deuteronomic and post-

deuteronomic utterances is that of "the *torah*" as the aggregate of the *toroth* that have been revealed from Deity. In many of the instances the term has literary implications, and the aggregate it denotes either is or includes an aggregate in writing. It is less easy to prove that this aggregate was a canon, or even physically a collection; but it is recognized, in thought at least, as a known unit. The term "the book of the *torah*" may supposably denote this aggregate, or may denote some section of it, or may denote sometimes the one and sometimes the other, but in any case this idea of the *torah* as a literary aggregate is in familiar use. This was the case from the time when deuteronomic writing began to the close of the Old Testament.

In the present state of criticism it seems convenient to recognize as a third group of instances those found in Hosea and Amos and the first half of Isaiah. In these writings *torah* is mentioned many times, and the definite phrase occurs not less than seven times.

"And thou hast forgotten the law of thy God." "They have transgressed my covenant and trespassed against my law." "I write for him the ten thousands of my law" (Hos. 4^6 $8^{1.12}$).

> "Because they have rejected the law of Yahaweh,
> and have not kept his statutes,
> And their lies have led them astray,
> after which their fathers walked" (Am. 2^4).

"The law of our God," "the law of Yahaweh of hosts," "the law of Yahaweh" (Isa. 1^{10} 5^{24} 30^9).

In one or two of these seven instances "the *torah*" may possibly be something less than the recognized *torah*-aggregate; but in most of them it is clearly that aggregate, more or less definitely conceived. In one of them the aggregate is described as an existing body of literature, and this one must needs have weight in interpreting the others. One's view of the relation of these instances to those of the two groups already cited will depend on his critical position, but whatever that may be, instances of this sort emerge in the

earliest extant Israelitish literature. At the beginnings of the authentic history of Israel, no matter when one dates these, we have glimpses of the *torah* as an aggregate of some sort, and we have glimpses of literary *torah*. The conception of "the *torah*" as a known literary aggregate cannot have been long delayed.

It is evident that the *torah*-aggregate is not exclusively the Pentateuch. We have found that the term is said to have been in use before most of the pentateuchal events occurred. The passages generally speak of *torah* as commensurate with the authoritative teaching of the prophets, and therefore as something much wider than the Pentateuch. The *torah* which is made so prominent in Ezra and Nehemiah and Daniel certainly includes the Pentateuch, but just as certainly includes much more than the Pentateuch. Even when the author of Ezra calls it "the book of Moses" (6^{18}), he speaks of it as including the ceremonial arrangements of the time of David. Whether the Pentateuch by itself is ever in the Old Testament called "the *torah*" is a matter of interpretation, and is at least doubtful.

It would be more nearly correct to identify the *torah*-aggregate with the Old Testament, though this should not be done without careful definition. Whenever men began to think of the written *torah* as an aggregate, they would naturally apply to it the three names that now denote the three divisions of the Old Testament. They would think of the aggregate as "the Law," the body of *torah* which Deity had given; they would think of it as "the Prophets," because they regarded it as given through the prophets; and they would think of it as "the Writings," distinguishing it from the *toroth* that were given orally. They would think thus of the aggregate, even if no physical collection of it had been made; much more would they think thus of it if they possessed it in collected form. It was doubtless "the Law" and "the Prophets" and "the Writings" during the time when it was receiving additions, and, when at length it ceased to grow and thereby became the fixed body of writings which we now call the Old Testament, it was still "the Law," and

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also was still "the Law" and "the Prophets" and "the Writings."

The author of the book of Ecclesiasticus had a body of writings that was nearly or exactly the same as our Old Testament. His list of worthies is virtually a table of contents, presenting an arrangement of the books which is mainly that of the events they treat, with no hint of a division into the Pentateuch and the Prophets and the Hagiographa. He has something to say concerning the law of Moses, but his law of Moses apparently included other writings as well as the Pentateuch, and in particular it included the Wisdom books. Two generations later, the translator of Ecclesiasticus emphasizes some sort of a division into "the Law" and "the Prophets" and "the other books," but leaves the matter indefinite. Some generations after him, Philo at last sharply marks off the Pentateuch as "the Law," and perhaps hints uncertainly at a threefold division. Some generations later still, we find contemporaneously the two conflicting theories of a triple division presented respectively by the Masoretes and by Josephus the Palestinian Pharisee. Not till long after this can the division properly be regarded as settled.

These post-biblical facts are in continuity with the biblical phenomena. The order of succession was clearly this: first, concrete *toroth*, regarded as messages from Deity; at a very early date some of these in writing; also from an early date the habit of thinking of Yahaweh's *torah* as an aggregated unit; this habit fixing itself especially upon the written *toroth* and leading to the use of means for collecting and authenticating these; the written aggregate coming to be known as *par excellence* the *Torah*, and also as the *Torah* and the Prophets and the Writings; finally these terms acquiring the secondary sense in which they denote respectively the three divisions of the aggregate.

'The Place' as an Appellation of Deity

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ONE of the most interesting appellatives for God in Jewish literature is המקום, מקום, 'The Place,' 'Place.' Other equivalents there are for the divine name which are much more intelligible. So, for example, Heaven, for in all advanced religions, and especially those of Aryan stock, some kind of identification is made between deity and the sky; we may instance Varuna-Ouranos and Dyaus-Zeus. But in המקום we find an earthly designation replacing the divine name, a phenomenon which, so far as is known to the writer, appears only on Semitic soil. Indeed the use of such a term as 'Place' for God is characteristic of the difference between the Indo-European religions and those of Semitic stock; the deities of the latter retain traces of their original character as beings attached to the soil, even into the most spiritual stages of theology.

For the statistics of the use of המקום as a divine name, it may be briefly noted that it occurs twenty times in the Mishna, and about twice as often in the Tosefta; it is found in the Gemara of both Talmuds, but most commonly of all in the Midrashic literature. It is avoided in the Targums, doubtless because of the objection to all sensuous ideas concerning God, but it appears abundantly in the philosophic and Kabbalistic literature of mediæval Judaism, and is still a living term in the Jewish liturgy. Philo uses it thrice, and in dependence upon that great theologian it appears in the early Christian writers, Theophilus and Arnobius.[1]

[1] Philo, *De somn.* i. 11 (Mangey, 629); *De profug.* 14 (M. 556); *Leg. alleg.* i. 14 (M. 52, quoted below). Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum*, ii. 4: *θεός . . . ἐστι τόπος τῶν ὅλων, αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ τόπος.* Arnobius, i. 31: (Deus) locus rerum et spatium.

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It is not strange that Jewish theology soon began to attempt explanations of this remarkable name for the spiritual and non-spatial God. "Why," inquires *Bereshith Rabba*, "do they surname the Blessed One and call him Place? Because he is the place of the world, but the world is not his place."[2] Ibn Ezra gives as explanation that "our first doctors called him Place because every place is full of his glory."[3] Most commonly Biblical authority for the usage is found in passages where God is connected with some definite מקום. Thus *Midrash Tehillim* answers the question why God is so called, in this fashion: "Because he is the place of the world, as it is written, 'And God said, Behold, a place is with me' (Ex. 33^{21}); "[4] *Pirqe R. Eliezer*, on the ground that "in every place where the righteous stand, he is found with them (Ex. 20^{24})."[5] *Bereshith Rabba*, in the passage already cited, has also a Biblical reference to offer: "[Jacob] came to a certain place and passed the night there, because the sun had gone down (Gen. 28^{11}). Why do they call his name Place? Because, 'In whatever place I shall record my name,' etc. (Ex. 20^{24})." Philo, naturally enough, has similar metaphysical explanations: "God is called Place (τόπος) because he embraces all, but is himself embraced by absolutely nothing, and is the refuge of all, and because he is his own space (χώρα), containing himself and being related to himself alone."[6] Again, "By Place (τόπος) is meant, not a space filled by a body, but, by suggestion, God himself, since he embraces but is not embraced, and because he is the refuge of all."[7] And in another passage, "God is his own place (τόπος)."[8]

The Kabbala rejoices in so mystical a term. It repeats the Philonic definition that God is his own place, and explains Ex. 33^{21}, "a place is with me," as of that which is "hidden

[2] Ch. 68.
[3] *Commentary on Esther*, i.
[4] *Midrash Tehillim*, quoted by Buxtorf, *Lex. s.v.*
[5] Ch. 35.
[6] *De somn.* i. 11.
[7] *De profug.* 14.
[8] *Leg. alleg.* i. 14 (Mangey, 52). Philo also uses οἶκος 'house' in the same way: "God is an abode [*i.e.* Heb. מעון], incorporeal space holding incorporeal ideas" (*De cherub.* 14, M. 148).

and concealed and altogether unknowable."[9] In a word, the Kabbala and Maimonides only carry to the extreme of mysticism or abstract speculation the elder Jewish interpretation. The liturgy uses the term quite in the Rabbinic manner, of course without explanation.

Such a metaphysical exegesis, however, has not in general satisfied modern scholarship, although there are still those who adhere to it, as for example the late Dr. Jastrow, who in his *Lexicon s.v.* makes the word equal 'existence, substance,' and therefore 'the Existence, the Lord.' Dr. Ginzberg, in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*, iii. 460, repeats the traditional interpretation. Some modern writers avoid any explanation, as Weber in his *Jüdische Theologie*, and Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*. It may, therefore, not be amiss to summarize the attempts at a more probable explanation made by some modern scholars, inasmuch as their studies are contained in a literature not generally accessible. Furthermore, the present writer hopes to add to the explanation a factor which has so far been ignored.

In consequence of the Philonic acquaintance with the term and with its Rabbinic exegesis, it was natural to refer the use of 'Place' to Hellenistic speculation. This view was advanced by Gfrörer, who was followed by Dähne, Siegfried, and Freudenthal in their studies of Hellenism.[10] But Geiger has disproved this theory by showing that with the Alexandrians the use of Place is isolated, and that Philo employs it only with symbolical intent; while, on the other hand, in the Jewish literature המקום is a usual and popular name for God. Geiger's own explanation is that המקום is nothing else than a sensuous appellation, used with the intention of avoiding the name of God but without philosophical notion.[11] However, Geiger's negation is of much more value than his affirmation; he gives no reason why

[9] *Sohar*, i. 147 b; ii. 207 a.

[10] Gfrörer, *Jahrhundert des Heils*, p. 290; Dähne, *Die jüdisch-alexandrinische Religionsphilosophie*, pp. 72, 282; Siegfried, *Philo*, pp. 202, 204; Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, p. 72.

[11] Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, xi. 228; *Nachgelassene Schriften* (Breslau, 1885), iv. 424.

the spiritualizing Jewish theology should have used this sensuous term; its origin then was purely wilful.

The true direction for the understanding of the term has, to the writer's mind, been given by Schürer in his essay, *Der Begriff des Himmelreiches aus jüdischen Quellen erläutert.*[12] Confining his studies to the passages in Philo and the Mishna, he comes to the conclusion that "the dwelling of God is equivalent to God himself, and so gradually became an appellative for God." A proof of his theory is found by Schürer in the comparison of Berachoth, iv. 5–6 and v. 1. In the former passage it is required that in prayer the face, or, if this is impossible, the thoughts, should be directed to the most holy House (בית קדש הקדשים); in the second it is asserted that the early Chasidim were accustomed for an hour before prayer, to wait, in order that they might direct their mind אל המקום 'to the place,' which latter phrase must be equivalent to 'toward God.' The equation of the two passages then makes the Temple and God practically identical terms. A criticism of the proof thus claimed will be given immediately below; it is to be noticed, however, that Schürer does not explain how this equation arose historically.

Still more recently an entirely fresh study of the spatial designations for God as found in the Jewish literature has been made by E. Landau, *Die dem Raume entnommenen Synonyma für Gott in der neu-hebräischen Litteratur.*[13] This thesis contains an exhaustive treatment of the Jewish material with a large apparatus of references, and also offers parallels for the subject under discussion from all quarters of religion.[14] Landau admits that Schürer's explanation is not without probability, but he finds it unsatisfactory because Schürer cannot show that the Temple is called המקום anywhere in the Talmud. Furthermore, he denies the validity

[12] *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 1876, p. 166, and especially pp. 168 ff.

[13] *Inaugural-Dissertation*, Zürich, 1888, p. 30.

[14] The writer would express his debt to Schürer and Landau, as also to Buxtorf, for the history of the question and for most of the references to Jewish sources.

of the equation between the two passages in Berachoth, for in one the Temple is meant, in the other המקום means God, as Schürer himself admits, so that the identity of the Temple and God does not appear. In this criticism Landau is certainly right.[15]

Landau, having found all previous hypotheses unsatisfactory, proceeds to give an original explanation drawn from that welcome resource of those who would uncover the mysteries of Judaism, namely, Parseeism. He shows that a Zoroastrian designation for deity is "the Space." He refers to certain Pahlavi texts, which are possibly of great antiquity, in which "the Beneficial Space" is equivalent to deity, and also quotes the Syrian Damascius to like effect, that as for "the Magians and the whole Aryan race, some call the Intelligible All and Unity, Place (*τόπον*), and some call it Time."[16] Accordingly he concludes that "there is great probability that the Rabbinic המקום thence took its origin as appellation for God." Landau further thinks that he can discover the actual historical connection between the Parsee and the Jewish theologumenon. Simon b. Shetach, who flourished in the reign of Alexander Jannæus, is known to have had intercourse with Persian magnates who came on an embassy to the Jewish court;[17] and Landau thinks that, as Simon was something of a metaphysician, it is therefore reasonable to conclude that he became the medium of the introduction of this foreign idea into Judaism.[18]

[15] Landau's other objection, that the use of המקום as a divine appellative appears 170 years before the age of the *Mishna*, having been used by Simon b. Shetach (*Taan.* iii. 8), and hence cannot have arisen from those passages, amounts to nothing, as Schürer makes no such claim.

[16] For the Pahlavi texts, see, for example, *Vendidad*, xix. 122 (*Sacred Books of the East*, iv. 221); *Sîrôza*, i. 30 (*SBE*, xxiii. 12). There is considerable variation in the translations of the term in question; see West, *SBE*, xviii. 70. Landau refers especially to remarks by Spiegel in his *Avesta*, iii. p. xxxix; *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 13; *Die arische Periode*, 132. The passage in Damascius is found in *De primis principiis*, ed. Kopp, p. 382.

[17] *Ber. Rab.* 91; *Midrash Qoheleth*, 7. 11, etc.

[18] His support for this is Simon's use of the expression מחשבות הדורש for God, but certainly this is no peculiar notion; cf. Amos 4[13].

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But the same objection holds good against this hypothesis of Landau's as against that which makes המקום a Hellenistic philosophumenon; it does not explain how this term became part of the popular religious vernacular of Judaism. It is also most doubtful whether unphilosophic Palestinian Judaism attempted to express the idea of space and of spatial infinity in this divine designation; certainly in the Rabbinic explanations המקום 'place' is not interpreted as 'space.' The metaphysical explanation would seem to have been due to Philo or his school.

There remains the possibility, which has not as yet been examined in this connection, that המקום is a conception native to Hebrew soil. This I think can be shown to be true, and the proof establishes Schürer's theory that המקום takes its theological connotation from an identification of the deity with his place of worship, although not originally with the Temple at Jerusalem. The following argument will attempt to show that the basis of this connection lies in the Old Testament and in primitive Semitism.

In the first place it is to be noted that המקום is a primitive religious term; it means 'the place of the deity.' In this sense the word is notably used in Gen. 28^{11} (cf. v.^{19}), "Jacob came to the place," which place was none other than Bethel, the House of God since immemorial times and the chief sanctuary of the Northern Kingdom. This passage, it should be observed, belongs to the Elohist. The same sacred connotation is found in Ex. 20^{24}, "In every place (read כל מקום) where I record my name," etc. In this sense is to be understood the phrase, "the place of Shechem," Gen. 12^{6}, *i.e.* "the sanctuary at Shechem." In Jer. 7^{12}, YHWH speaks of "my place which was in Shiloh." The word is also used absolutely of heathen shrines, *e.g.* Dt. 12^{2}, 2 Ch. 33^{19}. It appears in various collocations with reference to the Temple at Jerusalem, which is "the place which YHWH your God will choose" (Dt. 12^{5}); "the place of the Name of YHWH Ṣebaoth, Mount Zion" (Is. 18^{7}); "his holy place" (Ezr. 9^{8}), etc. This technical sense of המקום is also probably to be understood, with many modern commen-

tators, in 2 Ki. 5[11].[19] Here Naaman thinks that Elisha should have waved his hand, not "over the spot of the disease," as in the traditional interpretation, but "towards the place," *i.e.* the local sanctuary of Elisha's particular deity.

This technical use of מקום is maintained into Hellenistic times; ὁ τόπος is so used of the Temple in 3 Macc. 1[9], a reference which in part meets an objection of Landau's to Schürer's theory. The same use of the term is found outside of Israel. Punic coins bear the city-name מקום שמש,[20] which is the equivalent of the Biblical Beth-shemesh. There are also traces of the same use in Arabic. Wellhausen quotes from Aghâni, xv. 131, 30, an oath to the effect: "May I be slain at the Maqâm and the Kaaba and the Bait al-Nâr and by the grave, the grave of Abu Righâl."[21] This *maqâm* may be in general the holy *place* at Mecca; or it may be identified with an object within the Haram of that city which capitally illustrates our point. This is the *Maqâm* Ibrâhîm, which is a stone partly built over and partly protruding, the exposed portion being now used as a preaching-stand. According to Hurgronje this is evidently an ancient holy stone which has come down from heathen times; by the distortion of legend it has become associated with Abraham, and the word is now understood to mean a stand for the Imam.[22] But the stone seems to have gained the name *maqâm* from antique usage for the *place where* of deity, indicating that *maqâm* was once used as equal to *beth-el*. Indeed, it might be questioned whether by "the place" to which Jacob came (Gen. 28[11]), the holy stone was not meant rather than its area. The same word has survived in Islam in other localities. Rosen mentions two places whose names have this component, close by Shechem.[23] One of these is the

[19] See Kamphausen and Kittel *ad loc.*; also Kautzsch-Socin, *Genesis*[3], p. 62; Gunkel on Gen. 12[6]. Stade, in *SBOT*, regards the passage as an interpolation.

[20] Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*, i. 316.

[21] *Skizzen*, iii. p. 163.

[22] Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. p. 11. The Moslems have established three other *maqâms*, and the four are used as pulpits for the four orthodox rites.

[23] Rosen, *ZDMG*, xiv. p. 635.

Maqâm of the Prophets, the Sons of Jacob; the other the *Maqâm rijâl al-'amûd*, the Place of the Men of the Pillar. The common tradition is that here forty Israelite prophets were buried, but a Samaritan informant told Rosen of another tradition, that here Jacob buried the idols his family had brought from Mesopotamia. This may well be an ancient legend, and "the pillar" may be the tradition of an ancient *maṣṣeba*. These two places are now built over, and have become Moslem chapels.

For the identification of the sacred thing with the deity, due originally to the fetish stage of religion and later preserved as a reverent euphemism, we have many examples in the Old Testament. Such is the most natural explanation of Rock and Stone as divine appellatives;[24] a later spirituality knew how to invest these crass terms with spiritual significance. Most noteworthy is the transfer of the term *beth-el* to God himself. Following a suggestion of Peiser's, a name with this divine component, namely Bethel-sharesar, 'Bethel-protect-the-king,' should be read in Zech. 7^2, while several extra-Hebraic references prove the existence of a divine appellative *Bethel* upon Semitic soil.[25] Now the transfer of *beth-el* to deity is exactly parallel to the use of המקום as a divine name. It is true the actual transfer cannot be found in the Old Testament, but we can mark the nature of the process, for in the passage 2 Ki. 5^{11}, the waving of the hand toward the sanctuary is equivalent to the same gesture made toward the deity.

We possess then in the later theological use of המקום a purely Semitic phenomenon.[26] The Jewish doctors are jus-

[24] Cf. Beth-sur; perhaps Eben-ezer. That צור was a common divine appellative is shown by Dt. 32^{31}. For the literature of the subject, see Hastings's *D.B.*, s.v. "Rock"; *Enc. Bib.* iii. 3328, iv. 5442.

[25] The references are collected in *KAT*^{2}, pp. 437 f., and Hilprecht and Clay, *Bab. Exp. Univ. Penn.* Series A, vol. x. p. 70.

[26] Landau would also find evidence of this use of *maqâm* in Arabic literature, but his references are not satisfactory. "The place of God," Koran, Sur. lv. l. 46, is hardly pertinent. I cannot verify the meaning of a quotation he gives very curtly from the poet Lebîd (ed. al-Châlidî, Vienna, 1880, p. 12), as he gives no context, and the verse is not to be found in Brockelmann's edition, the only text I have at hand.

tified in their interpretations of this usage, so far at least as they bring it into connection with the references to מקום 'sanctuary,' in Gen. 28[11] and Ex. 20[24]. It may be supposed that the reason why מקום came to be preferred in the later theology rather than Rock or Stone or Bethel was its less sensuous and more general import. 'God's holy place' did not mean necessarily that God was localized there; the phrase could be understood in its general sense as the place of his sanctuary (Is. 60[13]), or the place where he was worshipped.

Still it may seem strange that the later spiritualizing religion should have preserved this crude term with its physical notion, in connection with the transcendent and non-spatial God. The rabbis themselves seem to have struggled against the incongruity, in their forced metaphysical explanation that God was the place of everything. But the incongruity may be explained through the observation of another fact. With the elevation of deity to heaven and the heaven of heavens, came also the assumption to the same heights, of his 'place.' The holy place was now in heaven, so that this term of primitive religion could still be used, but with reference to the heavenly place or temple of God. So מקום is frequently used in the Old Testament of God's temple or palace in heaven. Thus in Mi. 1[3], YHWH is said to "come out of his place;" cf. Hos. 5[15], Is. 26[21]. Now מקום in such passages may be understood as referring to heaven merely as the place where God is, as is meant, for instance, in 1 Ki. 8[30], "the place of thy abode." However, God's residence has been exalted into the heavens, so that, to the spiritual mind, his temple (היכל) is now found there; cf. Ps. 18[7], 11[4], 29[9], Hab. 2[20], especially Mi. 1[2], in connection with v.[3] cited above.[27] Hence we may suppose that some of the ancient religious meaning of מקום was preserved by the word when it gained a celestial connotation; parallel to the antique local deity and his earthly place is the heavenly God with his

[27] The same thought is present in the euphemistic rendering of the Greek for Ex. 24[10]: "They saw the place where the God of Israel stood," and for v.[11]: "They appeared in the place of God."

celestial sanctuary-place whither the eyes and hearts of the faithful are now directed. Finally, we may compare with this identification of the heavenly place of God with God himself, the similar frequent identification of heaven with God in the later Judaism. The heavenly מקום and השמים are practically identical in their theological import. The preceding argument then would carry the analysis of these two terms back into the domain of primitive religion, contrary to Schürer, who stops with the psychological explanation that heaven came to be used for God because the worshipper's hands or prayers could be spoken of as directed toward either indifferently; and it finds no reason to assume, with Landau,[28] foreign factors as controlling influences.

By way of postscript, notice may here be taken of מעון, which appears to have experienced much the same theological treatment as מקום. In general, reference may be made to Landau, who has collected the data for the usage of this term.[29] In the case of this word, however, the ambiguity in its Rabbinic use both for God and for his dwelling-place in heaven[30] is based upon the double sense which it already had in the Old Testament. מעון has properly the meaning of lair or haunt, as of wild beasts, and then either dwelling-place or place of refuge. Hence in the language of religion it is used in the former sense of the sanctuary of God, thus the Temple is "his dwelling-place" (2 Ch. 36^{15});[31] then like מקום and היכל it was transferred to the heavenly abode, *e.g.* Dt. 26^{15}; and in the sense of 'place of refuge' it was applied to God himself, *e.g.* Ps. 90^{1}, 71^{3}, and in the feminine מעונה, Dt. 33^{27}. The two meanings of the word are quite distinct in the Old Testament, but the Jewish doctors have confused them, explaining that by the title מעון it is meant that God is the dwelling-place of the world.[32] The development of the theological connotation of מעון is therefore different from that of מקום.

[28] *Op. cit.* pp. 21, 41. [29] *Ibid.* p. 45.

[30] Later, specifically, 'the fifth heaven.'

[31] The place-name Maon and the same component in Beth-baal-meon, probably indicate a general ancient use of this term for sanctuary.

[32] *Ber. Rabba*, 68.

Old Testament Notes

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I. Nisroch and Nusku

PROFESSOR PRINCE, in his interesting discussion of these words (*JBL*, 1904, pp. 68 ff.), suggests that "were it not for the Greek variants we might reject the *r* entirely in נסרך and read נסוך." It may be worth while to point out that if the Hebrew author wrote נסוך the word might easily be corrupted into נסרך, and if this took place before the Greek translation was made we should have no external evidence for the original form. For the possible mistake of ר for ו one might cite Zech. 4^6, where one manuscript of LXX reads Ζοβαβελ for זרבבל. The example is not convincing, however, because Ζοβαβελ may be a corruption of Ζοροβαβελ, which is given for this name elsewhere. We do find, however, a Greek Ιωχηλ for יוחא of the current Hebrew (1 Chron. 2^{34}), where the interchange of ו and ר has actually taken place. In 1 Sam. 14^{47} it is generally admitted that an original יושיע is now represented by ירשיע. Conversely in Gen. 49^{26} a present הורי seems to be a misreading of הררי. Other cases can probably be found, but these are sufficient to show that the confusion of ו and ר is quite possible. If the Hebrew scribe read נסרך for נסוך, he may have been influenced by a vague recollection of נמרד, a hero or demigod of ancient Babylonia.

II. Nabi'

The connection of this word with the name of the Assyrian and Babylonian god Nebo (Nabu), the god of revelation, was suggested by the late Robertson Smith, and may

have occurred to others before him. His language (*Prophets of Israel*[2], p. 86) is: "The very name and idea of the prophet (*nabî*) are common to Israel with its heathen neighbours, as appears . . . from the fact that the Assyrians had a god Nebo, whose name is essentially identical with the Hebrew *nabî*, and who figures as the spokesman of the gods." If I understand this aright, it means that the god Nebo is the eponym god of the *nebî'îm*. The late Franz Delitzsch and others have emphasized the fact that *nabî'* is passive in form, supposing the form to indicate that the prophet is overpowered by a divine influence.[1]

Now, as we know the worship of Nebo to have been carried on in Palestine from early times, is it not simpler to take the name of the god (borrowed from Babylonia no doubt) as the foundation upon which *nabî'* was constructed, as a denominative with passive signification? We speak of a man as bemused or bedevilled, just as the Arabs speak of him as *magnûn*. There seems no reason why a man might not be called *Neboed* when possessed by the god Nebo, and the Hebrew form would be *nabî'*. Any god might take possession of his votaries and inspire them to reveal his will; but such action was particularly appropriate to Nebo, who was the herald of fate. The only way in which he could maintain his reputation was by throwing his servants into an ecstasy and speaking through them. The name once given to prophets of Nebo would easily attach itself to all prophets. The enthusiastic nature of early Hebrew prophecy is clearly indicated by the Biblical narratives. Parallels in other religions can easily be cited.

The large number of nouns in Hebrew of the form *pa'îl* is well known (discussed for example by König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 1, pp. 130 ff.). Some of them seem to be denominative, but I find no clear case of one derived from a proper name.

[1] Professor Arnold calls my attention to the fact that Bewer has recently made the word a passive, with the meaning *one who is carried away*, and also that Zimmern (*KAT*[3], p. 400) makes Nabu a contraction from an original *na-bi-u*. This would perhaps favor Robertson Smith's contention.

III. Naioth

The place at which Saul found David under the protection of Samuel (בנות ברמה, 1 Sam. 19[22-23] with the Qrê בניות) is still a puzzle to the expositors. It is, perhaps, significant that the college of *nebî'îm* has its residence there, and we may venture to suppose a corruption of an original נבית or נבות. The interchange of ב and ו is not without precedent — the notorious בת שבע appears in Chronicles as בר שוע (1 Chron. 3[5]). If the original נבות meant the *Nebo-sanctuary*, we can see reason for its mutilation. The original pronunciation escapes us, but place names in ת may be found, such as קנת, תמת.

IV. 1 Chronicles 22[3]

The commentaries seem to take no offence at הגרים, but the word does not belong in this connection. We should correct to הגורים or הגררים; masons or stone-cutters are the men needed for David's purpose; cf. 2 Kings 12[13], 22[6].

V. Genesis 35[11]

Stade corrects ממך in 2 Kings 20[18] to ממעיך, and this is confirmed by the similar passages, Gen. 15[4], 25[23], 2 Sam. 7[12], 16[11]. How easily the two words may be interchanged is shown by Gen. 15[4], where the Greek has ἐκ σοῦ for ממעיך. Add to these Gen. 17[6], where the current text has ממך, but where ממעיך is restored by Grätz. Further, what has not been noticed heretofore so far as I know, Gen. 35[11] must be similarly corrected. We now read ממך, but ממעיך is demanded by the parallelism, for the second member of the verse has מחלציך. Having gone so far, there is no reason why we should hesitate to make the same correction in Isaiah 39[7].

VI. Judges 9[29]

The verse has long given trouble to the interpreters. The latest device is to remove the second half to another connection; so Nowack in the *Handkommentar*. The diffi-

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culty has arisen by duplication of one clause, as may be shown by writing them together:

ואסירה את אבימלך
ויאמר ל אבימלך

The original seems to have had ואמרה אל אבימלך as the completion of the optative clause preceding. The whole sentence thus restored would read smoothly: "Oh, that this people would join me, *that I might say to Abimelech:* Increase thine army and come out!"

VII. The Emphatic ל or לא

Some scholars still doubt the existence of this particle in Hebrew, first affirmed by Professor Haupt (see Casanowicz in *JAOS*, xvi. p. clxvi). In addition to the examples pointed out in my commentary on Samuel (1 Sam. 14^{30}, 20^{9}), I now call attention to Ex. 8^{22}: הן נזכח את תועבת מצרים לעיניהם ולא יסקלנו. It is extremely awkward to interpret the לא as a negative, whereas it is beautifully expressive as an emphatic: "If we sacrifice the god of the Egyptians before their eyes, *surely* they will stone us." I assume that תועבת has been substituted for אלהי, but this does not affect the main contention.

The Conquest of Northern Canaan

JOSHUA xi 1-9; JUDGES iv-v

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THE generally accepted theory of the above-named sources may be stated in a few words. The fourth chapter of Judges is composite in substance as well as in form; that is, it is not only a closely interwoven history made up of two original strands, but it is also a confused report of two entirely distinct battles. The Song of Deborah, Judg. 5, contains the original history of one of these battles, and Josh. 11^{1-9} is a late and inaccurate version of the other. The latter passage is made to harmonize with the two theories underlying Josh. 1–12; viz. that the conquest of Canaan was accomplished in Joshua's lifetime, and that it was so speedily effected because all the tribes of Israel fought as a single army under a common leader. Consistently, therefore, a local struggle between Jabin, king of Hazor, and the northern tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali has here been magnified into a great campaign between the confederated Canaanites on one side, and all Israel on the other. Judges 4 has added to the confusion by mixing this local struggle with the great battle inspired by Deborah and fought by Barak. I shall try to show that there is another and a better solution of the problem presented.

Of these sources, the oldest and most trustworthy is the Song of Deborah, and that must be the basis of our investigation. The Song is virtually contemporary with the event described, and reveals very clearly the situation of Israel. The tribes had crossed the Jordan singly or in groups, and had occupied the hills on both sides of the great plain of

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Esdraelon. This fertile plain was a necessary possession for any people who aspired to a dominant position in Palestine; the tribes, however, had for a time found it difficult even to maintain their foothold in the hills. Then a new power came to the front in the person of Deborah, who so stirred the patriotism of Barak that he assembled a force of forty thousand men from the tribes bordering on the great plain. The Canaanites, perceiving the danger of this hostile gathering, formed a coalition under the leadership of Sisera, who was not a mere captain of Jabin's army, but a great king and the leading spirit among the native rulers. The allies mustered in the great plain, for that was the abode of many of them; it constituted the bone of contention, and there the chariots with which the people of Canaan were abundantly supplied had ample room for their deadly evolutions. The ill-armed Israelites poured down from the hills at a time when floods had swollen the river Kishon and had made the valley such a morass that the chariots "drave heavily" as beforetime in the bottom of the Red Sea. The lightly equipped Hebrews thus had a great advantage, which they used to the utmost, and they pressed home the victory, so that the resistance of the Canaanites was broken for all time, especially after Sisera fell as the disgraced victim of a woman's blow.

This ancient song tells us a good deal about the Hebrew side of the battle. Abundant praise is given to God, the giver of every victory; each tribe which responded to Deborah's call is named and praised; those who gave no heed to her summons are also named and censured; the heroic deed of Jael is given more prominence than the battle itself; and ample space is taken to portray the anxiety of Sisera's queen-mother, as she watched in vain for the triumphant return of her son. But there is only the most meagre information about the other side. We are not told what kings entered the lists, nor how many troops they mustered; we hear of horses and so infer chariots, though the latter are not expressly mentioned.

It is clear, however, from the forces assembled for the con-

test and from the subsequent history, that this was the decisive battle for the supremacy of the north; wars were waged afterward, but the original Canaanites had been reduced to impotence. Moreover, although there is no positive evidence by which we can fix the date of the contest, it is fairly certain that this struggle belongs to the early period of the Hebrew occupation. Winckler[1] confidently dates the poem in the Philistine period, on the ground of Israel's lack of armament.[2] This is a very slender premise, and even if it were much stronger, the date of the Song would not indicate the date of the battle described. Neither does the position of the poem in the book of Judges help much, for the compiler was not an accomplished chronologist. It seems probable, however, that the tribes could not have dwelt long in the country before they would make a desperate effort to secure control of the great prize, for no progress was possible while the enemy held the plain of Esdraelon.

We turn now to Josh. 11 and find the forces of Hazor, Madon, Shimron, and Achsaph combining under the lead of Jabin to resist the encroaching Israelites who are pressing northward under Joshua. The Canaanites are mustered in vast numbers, and their effective force is greatly enhanced by the presence of the dreaded chariots of iron. The Hebrews make a sudden attack and completely overwhelm the enemy.[3] The prize of the war is the supremacy of the north. By this decisive battle, fought and won by the combined Israelites against the combined Canaanites, the resisting power of Canaan is completely broken, and the Hebrew ascendency

[1] *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*[2], p. 218.

[2] Verse[8]; cf. 1 Sam. 13^{19}. It must not be forgotten that we are dealing with a poem. In poetry the statement, "No shield was seen, nor spear, among forty thousand in Israel," does not necessarily imply that weapons were not to be found among the tribes, but may rather mean that there was no disposition to take the field. It would be impossible to account for such a lack of arms as the commentators generally infer from this passage. The nomad may lack everything else, but he will have a weapon.

[3] This is from the oldest stratum of the story; viz. vss.[4. 5. 7. 8a]. Verse[8] is an amplifying gloss; the value of its information may be judged from the fact that the Jebusites, who were really in Jerusalem, are here added to this northern confederation.

effectively secured. This conflict is put in the last stage of Joshua's campaigns, and so belongs to the last scenes of the conquest of Canaan.

Now it is not very probable that there were two such great battles, with essentially the same forces on each side, for the same object, and in virtually the same region. It is small wonder then that the historians have pronounced this story in Joshua a large exaggeration of a small tribal affair. Nevertheless, it would be strange if the book of Joshua, with its full accounts of the conquest of Central and Southern Canaan, had no adequate story of the conquest of the north. The more freely the author is supposed to manufacture history, the stranger this lack will appear. There is another possible hypothesis, which so far as I know has not heretofore been suggested; namely, that the story in Josh. 11 and the Song of Deborah are but duplicate accounts of the same struggle, and that the author of Judg. 4, instead of hopelessly confusing two inconsistent stories, is perfectly right in identifying Jabin's and Sisera's struggles as one and the same.

I have already pointed out the similarity of the two battles: the same goal, the same contestants, the same general field of action, the same large result. It must be frankly admitted that there are many inconsistencies; yet these are not greater than are found in other parallel stories, and are not incapable of a measurably satisfactory explanation.

The leader of the confederation was Jabin of Hazor in one case, and Sisera of unknown abode in the other,[4] and so we assume that the somewhat obtuse editor of Judg. 4 has harmonized a discrepancy by giving Jabin the loftier station and making Sisera his commanding general in the field. Such a discrepancy could easily arise.

We have no information about the places from which Sisera drew his army. Since the battle was fought in the great plain, it is commonly assumed that only Canaanites from that region took part. But Deborah summoned Dan

[4] Harosheth is given as Sisera's abode in Judg. 4^2; the Song is silent on the subject.

from the Sea, and Gilead and Reuben from across the Jordan. The places named in Josh. 11, Hazor, Madon, Shimron, and Achsaph, cannot be positively identified; it is generally supposed that they were in the distant north;[5] and, if this view is correct, it is still not improbable that the Canaanites in the plain would urgently solicit their aid in the common cause. In earlier days the kings of Canaan begged that troops be sent all the way from Egypt to drive back invaders similar to the Hebrews if not identical with them. Therefore there may have been a northern division in the great Canaanite army overwhelmed by the Kishon, and it may have been a question in after days who was responsible for the overwhelming disaster; perhaps the residents of the plain gave the credit to Jabin, the leader of the Galilean division, while the northern remnants with equal persistence assigned the calamitous leadership to Sisera.

In Deborah's Song six tribes actually muster for the war; but even here it is pretty clear that the brunt of the battle was borne by two tribes from the far north, Zebulun and Naphtali, the only ones mentioned in Judg. 4. For the poet first mentions all the tribes that went out to war: Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir, Zebulun, Issachar, and Naphtali;[6] then he names the tribes who disregarded the summons: Reuben, Gilead, Dan, and Asher; finally he comes back to sing the praises of the two tribes who had done most to deserve praise: —

> "Zebulun's tribe was a shining mark for death;
> Naphtali, too, on the mountain heights."

In Josh. 11 all the tribes of Israel, including those east of the Jordan, were, of course, engaged; that is but in har-

[5] It is pretty certain that these places are all north of the plain of Esdraelon. Hazor seems to have been near Kadesh-Naphtali. Madon is quite unknown. Shimron may be Semûnieh, west of Nazareth. Achsaph is assigned to Asher (Josh. 19^{25}), otherwise unknown. (See Steuernagel, *Deut. u. Jos. in loc.*) Holzinger is probably right in asserting that the four cities represent the whole of Galilee (*Das Buch Josua*, p. 44).

[6] Correcting the text in v.[15] by restoring Naphtali in place of the second mention of Issachar. This is a necessary emendation, the reasons for which may be found in Moore's *Judges*. This correction is now generally accepted.

mony with the theory of Josh. 1–12, that the conquest of Canaan was effected by all Israel acting together, a theory to which the old stories have been made to conform. This discrepancy is, therefore, of no significance.

The difference of time is but trifling, as we have already pointed out. Barak's victory follows closely upon the occupation; Joshua's is the very end of the process of subjugation. The latter date has been made to fit the theory that the conquest was completed in Joshua's lifetime. Such an error presents no difficulty to the reconstruction.

A more serious matter is the difference in locality. In Josh. 11 the battle is located at the waters of Merom; the Song of Deborah places it, with vastly greater probability, in the valley of the Kishon; for the latter place would really serve as the scene of a decisive action, while the former would suggest rather a battle of merely local importance. It is true that the site of the waters of Merom is not positively known, but the identification with Lake Huleh has been so generally accepted that for the present I assume that situation to be correct. It is not easy to think that such a wide difference could be explained as the result of merely variant traditions, but it is easy to think that we have here, neither accounts of two unrelated battles, nor varying stories of a single battle, but two scenes in the same campaign.[7]

This hypothesis needs further notice. It is not very likely that the Canaanite army was exterminated in the plain of Esdraelon, however badly it was defeated. If there was a northern contingent, as I have supposed, the remnant of that

[7] Rothstein has suggested (*ZDMG*, 1902, p. 189) that two battles are described in the Deborah Song, one being fought by the southern tribes on their way to join the army in the north, and he quotes some descriptions of the manœuvres from Segond, *Le Cantique de Debora*. I have not seen the work of Segond, but the quotations show that he would marshal the ancient tribes after the fashion of modern military science. Thus he says, "The Canaanites deployed their army between Taanach and Megiddo, resting their right wing upon Ledjoun and turning the rear to Kishon to face south-southeast." The data are rather scanty for such definite results, and the fighting of the wild tribes was not always in accord with modern principles.

portion would certainly retreat northward and homeward. There would be no serious obstacle to their retreat, for the fighting forces of the northern Hebrew tribes had all withdrawn from this district and would be in the rear pressing the pursuit. The southern tribes of Israel would be satisfied with the victory of the plain. Their object was attained, and there is abundant reason to believe that they would not be concerned with the tribulations of their brethren. Zebulun and Naphtali, however, could not take that easy view of the situation. Any considerable force escaping to the north was a serious menace to their peace. Deborah and Barak would be sensible of the danger, and would certainly urge a hot pursuit.[8] By the waters of Merom the enemy were brought to bay; they had reached the very spot for a stand, for here was a place where the chariot evolutions were possible, and they would scarcely pass by a battle-ground so adapted to their needs. The pursuing forces of Zebulun and Naphtali accepted the challenge, and so completely defeated the enemy that there might well arise a question whether this were not really the battle which decided the supremacy of the north.[9]

Especially would this question arise if the death of Sisera belongs to this stage of the battle. We do not know where Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite, lived,[10] but it seems

[8] According to Judg. 4[5 f.], Deborah was from Ephraim, and Barak from Naphtali; Judg. 5[15], corrected as above, implies that Deborah was of the tribe of Issachar. Now the territory of this tribe was partly in the great plain; we can understand, therefore, why Deborah aroused the tribes to wrest this prize from the Canaanites, and why both she and Barak were determined not only to defeat the opposing army, but to destroy it.

[9] The Song of Deborah not only shows clearly that Zebulun and Naphtali were the leading tribes in the great struggle, but also, if we may emphasize the correct meaning of שדי in va.[18], that the fighting was not confined to the plain. שדי means the wild mountain country; on the mountain heights these tribes performed the feats of valor which called forth the marked praises of the poet. If this feature of the struggle is correctly interpreted, it shows how little we know of the actual event.

[10] Judg. 4[11] says that Heber had pitched his tent as far as the oak of Bazaanim by Kedesh. In Josh. 19[33] this oak is one of the boundary marks of Naphtali. Conder identifies Bazaanim with Khirbet Bessûm, east of Tabor, and supposes Kedesh to be a place on the Sea of Galilee. This is

to have been west of the Sea of Galilee. Sisera's army had been overwhelmed with disaster, and he had accordingly been discredited as a leader. He might easily, however, have fled with the northern division, having with him a fragment of his broken troops. After this second defeat there was nothing left for the ruined monarch except personal safety. Among the wild nomads he looked for shelter, but found his quietus instead, in the blow of a club wielded by the hands of Jael.

The above view is based upon the assumption that the writer locates the battle correctly, and upon the identification of the "waters of Merom" (Josh. $11^{5.7}$) with Lake Huleh. It is possible that we lay too much stress upon the name of the place; if the writer has confused other things, he may also have mistaken the scene of the struggle, but it is a weak point in criticism to plead corrupt text or historical inaccuracy, as is too often done when a difficulty is encountered. The location of the waters of Merom, however, is still a problem, for the identification just named is open to grave suspicion. Indeed, it may be said positively that a battle so far in the north was out of the question in Joshua's career. To march from a campaign in southern Palestine to a struggle at Lake Huleh on the very northern borders, was impossible for Joshua in view of the many tribes of the enemy who lay in the intervening district. This identification, moreover, is nothing but a guess,[11] such as historical geographers are prone to indulge in. A more suitable situation has recently been proposed by Sanda, who

accepted by G. A. Smith (see art. "Zaananniim," Hastings's *Dict. of the Bible*). W. Max Müller also supposes that the Kenites dwelt in the great plain (*Asien u. Europa*, p. 174). The significance of this location will be pointed out later.

[11] Holzinger notes that except in 1 Macc. 11^{67} מים never means sea or lake (*Das Buch Josua*, p. 44). H. P. Smith says that the waters of Merom are not identified, but he uses this dictum as further evidence that the account of Joshua's battle is a later reflection of the victory of Barak (*O. T. Hist.* p. 82). Steuernagel says it cannot be the Huleh Lake, but offers no alternative; as vs.[8] shows that the place was only distant a day's march, he contends that either Joshua had come close to the enemy, or the waters of Merom must be sought much farther to the south (*Deut. u. Jos. in loc.*).

places Merom in the northern part of the plain of Buttauf, a valley of Galilee.[12] Sanda bases his theory upon an inscription of Tiglath-pileser III, where, among a list of cities, we find *Ma-ru-um*. From the location of the other places in the list, he determines the site of Marum, as indicated above, and identifies it with Merom.[13] To make the prefixed 'waters' intelligible, Sanda reminds us that the eastern part of the plain of Buttauf is very marshy, and that in antiquity there may have been a great pond there.

It is evident that with such a location for the waters of Merom, the theory I have proposed is both strengthened and simplified. The returning Canaanites would be heading for their own homes in Hazor, Madon, Shimron, and Achsaph in Galilee. Naturally Zebulun and Naphtali would do their utmost to crush their foes, and thus destroy for all time their troublesome neighbors. If Conder has correctly placed Basaanim, the flight of Sisera becomes clear. His own abode in the plain was no longer tenable, and his evident purpose was to cross the Jordan below the Sea of Galilee, hoping to find shelter in that unsettled region. He fled southward, but the long struggle had exhausted his strength, and he resolved to risk rest and refreshment among the Kenites. Unluckily for him, he chanced to fall into the hands of the valiant Jael.

It may seem that here is too much effort to make history out of the now generally discredited Josh. 1–12. That those chapters give an accurate acount of the conquest of Canaan cannot be successfully maintained, that they contain considerable very late material is beyond doubt, and that their general view of the conquest is radically wrong is certain. But there is some older and better material in these chapters, from which we can reconstruct good history. The general account of the capture of Jericho, for example, reads like a romance, for there were no twelve tribes in the line, and the

[12] "Die Lage von Hannaton und Me Merom" in *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1902, 2.

[13] Zimmern had also suggested the identification of Marum with the Biblical Merom (*KAT*[2], p. 59).

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walls did not, *ut ego opinor*, fall down flat at the blowing of the trumpets; yet the story itself, especially combined with Josh. 24[11], "and you went over Jordan and came to Jericho, and the men of Jericho fought against you," contains hints of a protracted and close siege, and of a battle which must really have been fought at some time and by some tribe or tribes of Israel. There is reason to believe, therefore, that these war stories generally have a basis of historical fact, often, however, pretty deeply buried in later tradition. So the story in Chap. 11 seems to be historical in the main, and to give valuable information supplementary to the Song of Deborah.

To come back a moment to Judg. 4. The theory that this story is merely a prose version of the Song of Deborah is impossible on any hypothesis, for there is considerable information not found in the Song, and the stories diverge at too many points. The confusion which undoubtedly exists in the story in its present form comes from making a single battle out of a campaign in which there was hard fighting in two different places. The narrative in Judges 4 probably contains an independent story of the battle, which has been retouched by the editor of the book, his object being a closer harmony with the Song of Deborah.[14]

[14] To this object we owe the statement that Sisera was the commander of Jabin's army (vs.[2]), the prediction that the leader would fall into the hands of a woman (vs.[9]), and the enlargement of the story of Sisera's death, the writer not comprehending the simpler and more probable version of the poem.

The Original Significance of the Rite of the Red Cow in Numbers xix

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IN Num. 19 we have the well-known description of the preparation of the ingredients which are to be used for the water of purification. A red cow without blemish, which has never yet borne a yoke, and has, therefore, never been used for profane purposes, is to be killed outside of the camp. The priest is to take some of its blood and sprinkle it seven times toward the sanctuary. Then the cow is to be burnt to ashes, skin and blood and all. The priest throws cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet thread into the fire as additional ingredients. After the whole is entirely burnt to ashes, the ashes are collected; they constitute the ingredients for the water of purification which is used for cleansing persons who have become defiled by contact with the dead. Every one who has participated in the ceremony becomes unclean.

The law is incorporated in the Priest-code, but that does not mean that we do not have here an extremely ancient practice. What the rite meant to the Priest-code is clear from the above outline. But what did the rite of the red cow mean originally?

It will hardly be denied that the impression which the ceremony makes is that of a regular ancient whole burnt-offering. The cow must be without blemish and must not yet have borne a yoke; that is, it must be fit for purposes of worship. It is burnt completely and all together. The strange feature is that the blood also was burnt with the

rest. We shall probably not be wrong if we assume that this is a survival from primitive times, when the people burnt every portion of the animal, even the blood, in a whole burnt-offering.

This whole burnt-offering was originally not offered by the priest, but by any one who chose to offer it. The priest does not kill the animal, nor does he burn it; he does not collect the ashes, nor does he bless them; he simply sprinkles some blood in the direction of the sanctuary, burns the cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet thread, and looks on; he does not even wait till the ashes are procured, but leaves before the end of the ceremony. It seems likely, as Holzinger has suggested in his commentary on Numbers, that he had originally nothing whatever to do with the matter. Indeed, the act of sprinkling the blood seven times in the direction of the sanctuary, which the priest performs, has come in because this rite was included in the category of rites connected with the sin-offering. It was no part of the original ceremony. The cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet thread did belong to the original rite; only it was not at first necessary that a priest should throw them into the fire.

To whom was the sacrifice originally offered? Not to Jahve, for it is not offered on his altar. Herein is still contained the hint that it was originally a sacrifice foreign to the Jahve-cult. The connection with that cult was made later, by the sprinkling of the blood in the direction of the sanctuary of Jahve. To whom then was it offered? The fact that the ashes are used for purification from uncleanness contracted by contact with the dead, points in the direction of a sacrifice to the demons or spirits of the dead. And here it is, perhaps, not without significance that the sacrificial animals offered by the Greeks to the chthonic deities had to be of red color, and that the person who was pursued by the Erinnys bound scarlet threads around his hands. May this not be the reason for specifying so distinctly that the cow must be red? We find this specification, so far as I know, nowhere else in the Old Testament.

If this is so, we shall probably have to think that in primi-

tive times a whole burnt-offering of a red cow was made when death occurred in the family or tribe, this offering being to the spirits of the dead; then the ashes, being regarded as sacred, were used for getting rid of the taboo with which men and things had become infected. The ashes would, perhaps, not all be needed at the time; what was left over was probably from the very beginning preserved, and afterward used when some one had become taboo by contact with a corpse. But of course the original occasion for the preparation of the ashes was a death in the family or tribe; the whole burnt-offering was the important thing, the ashes at first merely incidental. The Jahve-religion incorporated this ancient offering into its cultus, and in doing so transformed it and lost the old conception completely; but there remained indications that it was originally not connected with Jahve's sanctuary and religion.

The rite in Num. 19 cannot be considered without reference to the rite in Deut. 21, where we have in a sense a parallel case. Here it is in connection with the corpse of a man who has been murdered in the open country and whose murderer cannot be detected. The elders of the city nearest to the spot where the dead man was found, must take a heifer which has never been used for any profane work and bring it to a running stream, where they are to slay it. Then they must, in the presence of the priest, wash their hands over it and declare before God that the city which they represent is guiltless of the murder, and entreat God to forgive his people for the crime which has been committed in their midst.

Now here also, as Bertholet has already pointed out in his commentary on Deuteronomy, we have originally a sacrifice. Here also the priests are a later addition, for the elders of the city offer the sacrifice. And they offer it, not to Jahve, but to the spirit of the dead, who might, if not appeased in this manner, avenge himself upon the nearest city. Deuteronomy, however, does not any longer regard the ceremony as a real sacrifice, exactly as the Priest-code does not in connection with Num. 19. It has become merely a symbol.

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In both cases, in Deuteronomy and in Numbers, we have examples of the power of the ancient Jahve-religion to assimilate the various customary rites, and, in assimilating, to transform them so that they are brought into harmony with its own spirit.

The Word פָּרָשׁ in the Old Testament

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ACCORDING to the prevalent view, there are two Hebrew nouns פרש: one meaning *horse*, of the form קָטֶל, the plural of which should, according to rule, be פְּרָשִׁים; the other meaning *horseman*, of the form קָטָל, plural פָּרָשִׁים. The traditional vocalization of the plural is, however, uniformly פָּרָשִׁים; in other words, it knows only one word פרש, and that with constant *a* in the first syllable. Partly on this ground, doubtless, Schwally[1] has questioned that פרש ever has the meaning *horse* in Hebrew, casting doubt upon the integrity of the text of such Old Testament passages as have been held to establish that fact.

The true state of the case would seem to be exactly the opposite of that assumed by Schwally. There is only one word פרש in Hebrew, but the meaning is properly *horse*, not *horseman*.

It is customary to adduce in support of the conventional view the two Arabic words فَرَس *horse* and فَارِس *horseman*. فارس, however, is of course not a participial formation from a verb فرس *to ride*, but, on the contrary, (like Hebrew בּוֹקֵר from בָּקָר) denominative from فَرَس. Nor can there be any talk of coördinate formations of the types קָטָל and קָטֶל coinciding in the Hebrew in the singular פָּרָשׁ, for there is no known Semitic root from which they can be derived; cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, xl. p. 737 (against Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 95), and Fränkel, *Fremdwörter*, p. 99. It follows

[1] On Jer. 46[4], *ZATW*, viii. p. 191, "Die Bedeutung 'Pferd' für פרש ist nicht hinlänglich gesichert."

that if there be two words פָּרָשׁ in Hebrew, one must be denominative from the other (as Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 512). But that the Hebrews would have derived one noun from another in such fashion that the denominative could only with the greatest difficulty be distinguished from its base, is in the last degree improbable. And even admitting that the ר had not then been gutturalized, the Old Testament offers no instance, so far as I am aware, of a denominative קָטָל from a form קָטָל. Denominatives of the form קַטָּל are דַּיָּג from דָּג, בַּשָּׁף from בָּשָׁף, מַלָּח from מָלַח, קַלָּע from קָלַע, קַשָּׁת from קָשָׁת, and רַכָּח from רָכַח; רַמָּךְ *caravaneer*[2] is not an Aramaizing formation, but an

[2] Such, and not *mare*, is the meaning of רַמָּךְ. Cf. Syriac ܪܰܡܳܟܳܐ "*pastor vel possessor gregis*" from ܪܶܡܟܳܐ "*grex equorum* [*i.e.*, of course, the drove of a horse-caravan]; per extens. *grex quicunque*," Brun, *Dict. Syr.-Lat.* p. 646 (where "heb. רמח" should be corrected to רמך). See also Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.* § 84, "ܪܶܡܟܳܐ = *Heerde von Pferden*"; and Brockelmann, *Lex. s.v.* ܪܶܡܟܳܐ is the Persian رمه, which has been Arabicized as رَمَق; so that König's "רַמָּךְ ramakatun [رَمَكَة]," *Lehrgebäude*, II. 1, p. 410 *c*, is doubly erroneous. Is there, I wonder, any better ground for the *qattâl* vocalization of רמך and רמכא (some kind of a *mule*) of the Talmud than the misinterpretation of the word for *caravaneer* or *muleteer* in Esther, with its correctly transmitted vocalization? The expression בני הרמכים = *the caravaneers* as a class, just as בני הנביאים = *the prophets* as a class. In Esth. 8[10] the author labored to say that the despatches were transmitted *by means of the convoys of the official transports*, (in apposition:) *the caravaneers*: ביד רכבי הרכש האחשתרנים בני הרמכים, literally, *by the hand of the official riders of the transport, the sons of the caravaneers*. רֶכֶשׁ is generic for *pack-animal(s)*; so 1 K. 5[8], where the term סוסים covers all *war-horses*, whether of cavalry or chariotry; in Mic. 1[13] מרכבה *carriage* refers of course to a litter: רתם המרכבה לרכש ישבת לכיש, *Strap the litter to the mule of the inhabitress of Lachish*, where the current interpretations would require אסר instead of רתם (with which compare the Arabic رَتِيمَة, *mnemonic thread wound around the finger*) and הרכש למרכבה instead of המרכבה לרכש. The clause בסוסים הרצים (Esth. 8[10]) is an erroneous gloss based on 3[13. 15], as is also הרצים of 8[14]. All that is proved regarding the word רמכין by the Targum's רמכין דאתגדילו מחולידתן ואתקדרו מסת כף רגלידהן (which transfers the word רמך from the Hebrew text and supplements it with an impossible definition), is that the word was both unfamiliar and unintelligible to the translators. For the rest, cf. Wellhausen, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, February, 1902, p. 139.

Aramaic loan-word. Had the Hebrew formed a word for *horseman* from פָּרָשׁ *horse*, it would doubtless have been, like Arabic فَارِس, of the form קָטֵל.

That the literal meaning of פָּרָשׁ in the text of the Old Testament is everywhere *horse*, a brief survey of the usage will, I think, conclusively show.

פָּרָשׁ occurs in the singular three times, in each case with unmistakable meaning *horse*. Ez. 26[10]: מִקּוֹל פָּרָשׁ וְגַלְגַּל וּרְכֶב תִּרְעַשְׁנָה חוֹמֹתַיִךְ, *Thy walls shall shake with the thunder of steed and wheel and chariot*, that is, with the clatter (and snorting and neighing?) of horses, the rattle of wheels, and the clang of chariot metal; cf. Jer. 47[3] 8[16] 2 K. 7[6]. Cornill's excision of פָּרָשׁ וְגַלְגַּל is not merely unwarranted, but detracts materially from the force of the original.[3] It is the same stock rhetorical phrase that we have in Jer. 4[29]: מִקּוֹל פָּרָשׁ וְרֹמֵה קֶשֶׁת בָּרְחָה כָל הָעִיר, where in spite of the absence of the preposition before רֹמֵה קֶשֶׁת, this last is better construed as coördinate with the entire phrase קוֹל פָּרָשׁ, rather than as dependent on the word קוֹל, for קוֹל רֹמֵה קֶשֶׁת would give no very good sense. The correct interpretation is, *All the land* (reading with the Greek הָאָרֶץ for הָעִיר) *is in flight before* (*a*) *the sound of the war-horse and* (*b*) *the bowman's dart*. Lastly, the singular פָּרָשׁ occurs in Nah. 3[3], where פָּרָשׁ מַעֲלֶה, when restored to its proper place, is parallel to סוּס דֹּהֵר and is correctly interpreted *rearing steed*.[4]

[3] According to Cornill (*Ezechiel*, p. 340 f.), besides disturbing the parallelism, the words פָּרָשׁ וְגַלְגַּל "sind auch sachlich anstössig; die קוֹל geht nicht von den Reitern aus, sondern von den Wagen." So Cornill excludes the words because on the interpretation 'Reiter' they yield no satisfactory sense, and then Schwally (*l.c.*) disallows the meaning 'Pferd' because the integrity of this passage has been questioned by Cornill.

[4] דהר, both here and in Jud. 5[22], is not *to gallop*, but *to fall heels over head*. The original of Nah. 3[2-3] is as follows:

קול שוט	ורשש אופן
פרש מעלה	וסוס דהר
ומרכבה	מרקדה
ולהב חרב	וברק חנית
ורב חלל	וכבד פגר
ואין קצה	לגויה

The plural פרשים is used in twofold fashion:

(1) With primary sense, as a simple distributive or collective plural of פרש = *horses*. So 1 S. 8^{11}: *The king* whom the children of Israel choose *shall take their sons and set them upon his chariot* (במרכבתו), *and upon his horses* (בפרשיו), *and others of them shall run before his chariot;* the reference here is to the personal equipage and retinue of the king. 1 K. 5^{6} (= 2 Chron. 9^{25}): *Solomon had four thousand* (read so with the Chronicler for M's erroneous *forty thousand*) *head of horses for his chariots* (למרכבו; מרכב is good old Hebrew *nomen generis*, of which מרכבה is *nomen unitatis*) *and twelve thousand cavalry-horses* (פרשים). 1 K. 10^{26} (= 2 Chron. 1^{14}): *Solomon collected chariotry and cavalry* (רכב ופרשים, see below), *and he had fourteen hundred chariots* (רכב) *and twelve thousand cavalry-horses* (פרשים). This passage harmonizes very well with the one just referred to, 1 K. 5^{6}, and would seem to establish the meaning of ארוה as *head* and not *span;* four thousand is just about the requisite number of horses for the maintenance of an efficient force of fourteen hundred chariots: 4000 ÷ 1400 = $2\frac{6}{7}$. The Chronicler misread ומרכבות for למרכבו of 1 K. 5^{6}, where nothing is said of the number of Solomon's chariots.[5]

The crack of the lash, and the thunder of wheels!
Rearing steed, and tumbling horse,
And bounding chariot!

And gleam of sword, and flash of spear,
And host of bleeding, and mass of corpses,
And no end to the bodies of the dead!

דהרה of Jud. 5^{22} is *nomen vicis* = *a somersault*. עקב הלם is, of course, *kick*.

עקבי סום	אז הלמו
אביריו	מדהרות דהרות

Then (in the torrents of the Kishon) *the horses' heels made havoc,*
As over and over rolled his men.

I hope to return to the subject of the root דהר in another place.

[5] The comparison of the incorrect ומרכבות of Chronicles with the correct למרכבו of Kings is sufficient to show that 2 Chron. 9^{25} is derived from 1 K. 5^{6}, and is not a later doublet of 2 Chron. 1^{14}, on the basis of which doublet in turn, 1 K. 5^{6} was inserted in the Book of Kings (as Kittel). Only, the

1 K. 20[20]: Ben-Hadad, the king of Aram, escapes *because of his chariot- and cavalry-horses* (על סוס ופרשים); סוס and פרשים must be given the same construction if we abide by the text.[6] Observe that the genus is סוס (singular), but פרשים (plural). Ez. 27[14]: The Tyrians buy from Togarmah סוסים ופרשים ופרדים (chariot-) *horses and riding-horses and* (pack-) *mules*. Ez. 38[4]: סוסים ופרשים *chariot-horses and cavalry-horses*. Hos. 1[7]: *I will not deliver them with bow and with sword and with battle, with chariot-horses and with cavalry-horses* (בסוסים ובפרשים). With the same meaning סוסים and פרשים are coupled in Joel 2[4] Hab. 1[8] and Jer. 46[4]: אסרו הסוסים ועלו הפרשים, of course, *Harness the* (chariot-) *horses and mount the* (cavalry-) *steeds!* the entire verse refers to preparations *in situ*, and *Get up, ye "horsemen"!* would be קומו. Several passages, owing to the fragmentary and to some extent corrupt condition of the context, are exceedingly difficult of interpretation. Yet such as it is, the context leaves no doubt as to the meaning of פרשים. Is. 28[28]: The sensible man *has a care to* (cf. יסר) *the wheel of his wagon, and his riding-horses are not injured in the hoof* (read ידקן); the original of the preceding part of the verse was probably to the effect that *he does not overwork his threshing-animals* (השור ידושנו for אדיש ידושנו?); לחם יודק would then be a glossator's erroneous caption. Is. 21[6 f.]: *For thus said my lord unto me, "Go set the watchman, let him report what he sees; and if he descry one riding* (point רֹכֵב) *a* צמד פרשים, *or riding an ass, or riding a camel, let him give strict atten-*

number *four thousand* of 1 K. 5[8] will have been raised to *forty thousand* since the Chronicler employed that book, or in manuscripts which did not influence the text he used. Deliberate tampering with the text of the older historical books since their employment by the Chronicler can, of course, be shown elsewhere.

[6] Kittel's "[entkam] mit (einigen) Berittenen auf einem Wagenpferd" is no sort of a translation of על סוס ופרשים. Benzinger thinks ופרשים was added by a reader who desired to save some cavalry-men besides the king. An apostate reader! Klostermann alters to על סוס הוא ופרשיו. Burney holds that "פרשים must be thought to be loosely connected on to סוס by the ו as forming a concomitant factor to the king's escape. . . . But the text would be greatly improved by the addition of עמו after פרשים."

tion." ***And the lookout*** (read רָאֹה for אריה) ***cried*** *"Upon the watchtower* (מצפה cs.) *of my lord I remained throughout the day, and at my post I stood all night long; and behold there came one riding a* צמד פרשים, *and he spoke and said, Fallen, fallen is Babylon, and all the statues of her gods are crashed to the ground!" — My dearly beloved, that* (the above oracular parable) *which I have heard from Jahweh Sebaoth, the God of Israel, I have told you.* איש *a man* of v.[9] is a gloss (lacking in the Greek) correctly indicating that the vocalization of רכב is רֹכֵב and not רֶכֶב, just as in 22[6] the vocalization רֶכֶב is indicated by means of the generic אדם *people*. That the correct vocalization in v.[9] is רֹכֵב, and that only one rider is seen approaching, appears from the number of ויען ויאמר, which must be referred to רכב as antecedent. And if this is the proper vocalization in v.[9], it must be the same in v.[7]; a single courier is awaited with news of Babylon, who may come on horse-back, donkey-back, or camel-back. It follows that unless the reading be corrupt in both v.[7] and v.[9] (which there is no reason for supposing and, in view of 2 K. 9[25], strong reason for denying), צמד פרשים is the designation of a single specimen of the genus פרשים; in other words, it is a compound like שעיר עזים. The question thus narrowed down is not difficult to answer. צמד in this connection must be a *she*, and צמד פרשים a (riding-) *mare*. This gives us the only satisfactory explanation of the text of 2 K. 9[25]: כי זכר אני ואתה את רכבים צמדים אחרי אחאב אביו ויהוה ונ׳ *For call to mind myself and thyself riding mare-back behind Ahab, his father, when Jahweh* etc. It is, of course, not to be imagined that the sex of the animal is consciously emphasized in either of these passages; the Arab speaks of 'his mare' as we speak of a 'horse.' Is. 22[6]: ברכב אדם פרשים; as pointed out above, אדם is a gloss indicating the vocalization רֹכֵב, which, if the text be unimpaired, is quite correct; רֹכֵב פרשים would be *riders* (collective, 'Reiterei') *of horses;* cf. 2 K. 7[14], שני רכב סוסים, *two horsemen*. But perhaps we should read רכב ופרשים; see the following verse.

(2) The generic פרשים *horses* is used tropically as the technical term for *cavalry*, just as the generic רֶכֶב *chariots*

is used for *chariotry*, and the generic סוּס *horse* for the entire *mounted force*, and precisely as in English we speak of '*horse* and foot.' סוּס is the name of the animal as such; employed as a riding-horse, he becomes פָּרָשׁ. Accordingly, the two kinds of סוּס '*horse*' are סוּס רֶכֶב *chariot-*'*horse*' and פָּרָשִׁים *cavalry*, Ex. 14[9]; no writer in his senses would speak of a mounted force as consisting of *chariot-horses and cavalry-men*, and if סוּס רֶכֶב be tropical for *chariotry*, why not פָּרָשִׁים tropical for *cavalry?* Ex. 14[23]: Pharaoh's סוּס consists of רִכְבּוֹ וּפָרָשָׁיו *his chariotry and his cavalry*. So, in spite of the construction, we must interpret in the editorial verse 15[19]. Observe also the parallelism in Is. 31[1]: on the one side סוּסִים, on the other רֶכֶב and פָּרָשִׁים. In Ez. 26[7] it is difficult to determine whether we should render *with chariot-horses and chariots and cavalry-horses*, or, pleonastically, *with horse and with chariotry and with cavalry*. 1 S. 13[5]: the Philistines fight against Israel with *thirty thousand chariotry and six thousand cavalry;* as in the one case the unit is the *chariot*, so in the other it is the *horse*. 2 S. 8[4] (= 1 Chron. 18[4]): *And David took from him one thousand chariotry and seven thousand cavalry* (read so, with the Chronicler and the Greek, to make the latter half of the verse intelligible) *and twenty thousand infantry, and David demolished*[7] *all the chariots but one hundred, which he retained.* In 2 S. 10[18] we must read with the Chronicler (1 Chron. 19[18]), *David slew of Aram seven thousand chariotry* (here of course = *charioteers*) *and forty thousand foot;* the number *forty thousand* of itself favors the Chronicler's text, and the infantry must in any event be accounted for. פָּרָשִׁים = *cavalry* (but not *horsemen*): coupled with רֶכֶב, Gen. 50[9] Ex. 14[17. 18. 26. 28] Josh. 24[6] 1 K. 1[5] 9[19] = 2 Chron. 8[6] 1 K. 9[22] = 2 Chron. 8[9] 2 K. 2[12] 13[7. 14] 18[24] = Is. 36[9] Is. 22[7] Dan. 11[40] (chariots, horse, and ships), 1 Chron. 19[6] 2 Chron. 12[3] 16[8]; without רֶכֶב, Ezra 8[22] Neh. 2[9]. Of course the word is the same in all these passages. But אֲבִי אֲבִי רֶכֶב יִשְׂרָאֵל וּפָרָשָׁיו of 2 K. 2[12] and 13[14] establishes the point that פָּרָשִׁים in these

[7] On עקר cf. Neo-Hebrew and Aramaic; it cannot here mean *to hough*, for רֶכֶב is never the animal.

connections is a merely formal plural with secondary, collective sense: *My father, my father, the chariots* (or *chariot*) *of Israel and the horsemen thereof!* spoken of Elijah and of Elisha, is absurd; *the chariotry of Israel and the cavalry thereof*, unexceptionable.

The distinction which, in reducing the language to terms of our own thought, we are forced to draw between פרשים in its primary sense of *riding-horses* and in its secondary sense of *cavalry*, did not occur to the ancient writer, so that in particular cases (such as, *e.g.*, 1 K. 10^{26a}) it is not easy to determine whether the rendering should be the one or the other. However, that פרשים was never used by the writers of the Old Testament with conscious reference to the horse-*men*, appears certain from the positive evidence of 2 S. 1^{6}: the writer permits himself indeed to speak of the *charioteers* as הרכב, but the *cavalry-men* as distinguished from the '*horse*' are בעלי הפרשים! The phrase is thoroughly idiomatic, and there is not the slightest ground for dropping בעלי, as do Wellhausen, Driver, H. P. Smith, and Nowack,[8] except the mistaken one that פרשים means *horsemen;* the Greek *οἱ ἱππάρχαι* represents our Hebrew, otherwise it would have *ἱππεῖς*, only it mistranslated בעלי *commanders* instead of *men of*. Nor is it easy to see how the word בעלי could have crept into the text, whether on Wellhausen's improbable theory or in any other manner; for it runs directly counter to the traditional view of the meaning of פרשים; it is Hebrew against Aramaic.

The only Old Testament passages which seem to militate against the view above set forth are Ez. $23^{6.\ 12}$: פרשים רכבי סוסים in both verses. That there is something wrong with these passages appears at a glance. If פרש ever did mean *horseman* in Hebrew, it is not in the least likely that Ezekiel would have felt called upon to so inform his hearers. This is not a case of 'acervation of terms,' but of bald definition. One or the other of the two terms must be an interpolation; and in view of the parallel clauses of the context and the

[8] So also Budde in *SBOT*; in the later *KHC* he inclines to read בעלי סוסים.

phraseology of v.[23] and 38[15], we cannot avoid the conclusion that the interpolation is פרשים. It is not disputed that the interpolator understood פרשים as meaning *horsemen*. But what with פרשים *cavalry* on the one hand, and Aramaic פרשא *horseman* on the other, the blunder is not to be wondered at.

There remains the question as to the form of the word פרש and the proper vocalization of the plural. Is the traditional vocalization correct, and have we here an animal-name of the form קָטֶל, such as אַיָּה *hawk*, אַיָּל *hart*, דַּיָּה *kite*? In view of the Arabic فَرَس *horse*, on the one side, and the Aramaic פָּרָשָׁא *horseman* on the other, we must conclude that the Hebrew word is of the form קָטָל, and the traditional vocalization of the plural an error due to the influence of the Aramaic. The plural will therefore be פָּרָשִׁים.[9]

[9] The construct singular, if we had occasion for it, would naturally be פָּרַשׁ. For the rest, that the Masoretic pointing פֶּרֶשׁ וְגלגל of Ez. 26[10] intends the construct state (Ewald[8], § 339 *a*; Olshausen, § 183 *a*; Stade, § 217 *a*; Ges.-Kautzsch, §§ 84 *b*, 130 *b*; König, *Syntax*, p. 420) is extremely doubtful; cf. Böttcher, i. p. 304, and especially p. 525.

The God-name Ninib

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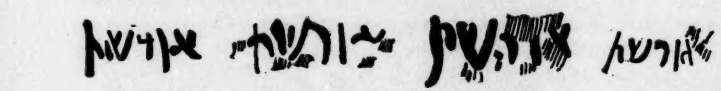
IN *JBL*, 1904, pp. 68–75, I endeavored to show that the biblical name Nisroch applied to an Assyrian deity (2 K. 19^{37} = Isa. 37^{38}) is probably a corrupt form arising from a late combination of the two Assyro-Babylonian god-names Nusku and Ašur (see especially p. 74). Since this paper has appeared, I note that Professor Hilprecht, in the introduction to Professor Clay's work, *The Business Documents of Murashû Sons*, p. xvii, connects the biblical Nisroch with an equivalent form for NIN. IB, written in Aramaic characters, which appears in four instances reproduced by Clay, *viz.* Nos. 29, 87, 5508, 5514 (cf. *op. cit.* p. xviii).

These documents of Murashû Sons are all dated in the reign of Darius II. (424–404 B.C.), and many of them are docketed in Aramaic script by the scribe with the name of the person who was disposing of his property (*op. cit.* p. 9). Among the most interesting of the proper names thus recorded are the four instances cited, which undoubtedly give the then current pronunciation of the much-disputed god-name NIN. IB. Unfortunately for Assyriology, the Aramaic reproduction leaves us almost as much in the dark about the true pronunciation as does the Sumerian ideogram NIN. IB. It appears in four forms as follows:[1]



No. 29 No. 87 No. 5508 No. 5514

[1] Reproduced from Clay, *op. cit.* p. xviii.

Hilprecht (p. xvi) suggests that these readings represent the Hebrew characters אנרשח, which he thinks recall the ideographic writing NIN. ŠAX 'lord of swine,' and he accordingly connects this god-name[2] with the biblical Nisroch, supposing that the ר and ש were transposed, in order to facilitate the pronunciation. Both Hilprecht and Clay are agreed that the first two consonants of this Aramaic name are אנ. Of this I think there can be no doubt, and it is equally clear, as Clay has definitely proved (*op. cit.* p. 8), that the last character is a perfect ת and not ח (so Hilprecht). It should be added that Hilprecht's reading takes no account of the א. The fourth letter is of course ש. There remains then only the third character in doubt, which may be read ר, ר, or ו. Thus in No. 29, it seems more like a ר or ר, while in No. 87 it may be either ו or ר. The orthographic uncertainty is not cleared up by No. 5508 or No. 5514.

In searching for Semitic epithets of NIN. IB, I find that in Ašurn. I. 1, this god is designated by *mâru rêštû* 'the chief son,' as a characteristic title. This has led me to believe that the third character of this name is not ו, as Clay thinks, but rather ר. As I have already suggested in a note in the *Independent* for Dec. 22, 1904, p. 1450, I read the Aramaic Babylonian name of NIN. IB as אנרשת = *ênu rêštû* 'the chief lord.' *Ênu*[3] is the well-known Sumerian loanword in Semitic for *bêlu* 'lord,' which in this age represented the character NIN. This character could mean *bêlu* 'lord,' though more commonly used for *bêltu* 'lady.' Of course, the regular Sumerian reading of NIN was *ni*, *nin*[4]

[2] NIN. ŠAX 'lord of swine' may have been, as Jastrow suggests (*Religion*, p. 93), a swine-deity, *i.e.* a god whose symbol was the wild boar, just as Nergal's symbol was the lion. There can be no doubt that the god NIN. ŠAX was occasionally identified with NIN. IB. The Syriac ܐܢܪܫܬ cited by Hilprecht (Clay, *op. cit.* p. xvi) in support of his identification of this Aramaic Babylonian god-name with NIN. IB must be ܐܢܪܫ, cf. Hrozny, *Ninrag*, p. 83. Professor Hilprecht evidently mistook the Syriac ܬ for ש.

[3] For Semitic *ênu* 'lord' = *bêlu*, cf. Delitzsch, *Ass. HWB*, p. 96 b. The feminine form is *êntu* 'lady'; *ênûtu* 'government' also occurs. *Rêštû* is a synonym of *aširîdu* 'chief, leading one.'

[4] Cf. Brünnow's List, 10982–10983.

and not *en*, but *en* was the regular Sumerian word for lord (*en* = EN), and in the case of the god NIN. IB represented a male and not a female deity; hence *ênu* would be a natural Semitic translation for NIN. This form *ênu rêštû* I must regard as the conventional Semitic reading of the name of NIN. IB in the reign of Darius. The only objection to my opinion is perhaps the fact that the final *û* is not indicated in the Aramaic text, but this is not a serious defect, because Hebrew and Aramaic scribes were not very particular in indicating their vowels, whether long or short. There can be no doubt that in these Murashû texts the Aramaic dockets gave the *Semitic Babylonian* pronunciation of the god-names and *not* the ancient Sumerian pronunciation,[5] concerning which we get no light from these readings. Thus, the god MAR. TU is called *bêl šadî* 'lord of the mountains' (p. 8), while KUR. GAL is translated by אמורי, the pronunciation of which is doubtful, although I believe that these characters represent the form *Amurru*, as Clay hints.

In short, I think there can be no doubt that in this Aramaic combination denoting the god NIN. IB, we have neither of the Sumerian elements NIN., or ŠAX., as Hilprecht suggests, but a Semitic equivalent of NIN. IB[6] which can have

[5] In K. 4829, Rev. 15 ff. (Hrozny, *op. cit.* pp. 14 ff.), the god-name NIN. IB is written NIN. IB *-ga*, *i.e.* with the guttural *-ga* as complement. This shows probably that the final syllable *ib* could be pronounced *-ig*, i.e. *Nin-ig*. The close affinity between *b* and *g* in Sumerian is well known; cf. *tub-tug* = KU; *šab-šag*, etc. This *Nin-ib*, *Nin-ig* probably represents the later Mandaean נירג, Syriac נאורג, which, as Hrozny has correctly pointed out (*op. cit.* p. 83), is not Nergal (so Jensen, *Kosm.* pp. 135, 476), but really *Nin-ib*, *Nin-ig*, the name of the tutelary deity of the planet Mars. Hrozny (*op. cit.* pp. 82–83) thinks he finds here a confirmation of his rather fanciful reading *Nin-rag* for *Nin-ib*, but the *r* in נאורג־נירג may merely be a later alteration of the earlier *n*, thus *Nin-ig* = Mandaean-Syriac *Nĕrigh*.

[6] Professor Clay writes me that, with regard to the interpretation of this god-name, he has received the following additional opinions as to the way the respective consonants are to be read: 1) *In-ariti*, the Semitic equivalent of *Nin-urash*. This "equivalent" is of course invented for the occasion. It is highly probable that *uraš* is merely the inversion of *šarru* 'king,' and it is not likely that the word *uraš* would have a Semitic feminine form. 2) בלשרשת 'lord of decision,' a most unlikely interpretation of the consonants. 3) *En-ariti* 'lord of decision.' This, while possible, is not as

no connection whatever with the biblical Nisroch. I see no reason therefore, on account of this evidence, to depart from my original opinion regarding the name Nisroch.

acceptable as my reading *ênu rêštû*, owing to the use of the word *rêštû* as a characteristic epithet of NIN. IB. 4) *Uraiat*, fem. of *Uraî*. See above on 1). 5) נמרוד = Ninib and Nimrod, both being equivalent to *namurta* 'light,' 'early light.' This is too absurd to require comment.

The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila: Two Unpublished Manuscripts

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THE Greek Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila, noticed by Angelo Mai in 1843,[1] was first published in 1898 by F. C. Conybeare.[2] Mr. Conybeare based his text upon a Vatican manuscript of the twelfth century (Codd. Graeci Pii PP. II, No. 47), but referred also to a Patmos manuscript which Mai had mentioned.[3] The latter codex Mr. Conybeare declares is no longer at Patmos, nor has he been able to trace it in any European library. His published text thus rests upon the Vatican copy alone, although in not a few places it proved undecipherable, while in others Mr. Conybeare suspected serious textual errors.

In examining patristic manuscripts at the Escorial in the autumn of 1903, the writer observed a third manuscript of this dialogue (designated Ω III. 7; Catalogue, No. 536), and copied a part of it. Its title differs considerably from that of the Vatican text. The Vatican title runs: *Διάλογος χριστιανοῦ καὶ ἰουδαίου, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα, τοῦ μὲν χριστιανοῦ Τιμόθεος, τοῦ δὲ ἰουδαίου ἀκύλας, γενόμενος ἐν ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις κυρίλλου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου ἀλεξανδρείας.* The Escorial title, however, is as follows: *Ἀμφιβολία χριστιανοῦ ὀνόματι τιμοθέου μετὰ ἑβραίου φιλοσόφου ὀνόματι ἀκύλα.*

The Escorial manuscript is of the fifteenth century, and so cannot be identified with the Patmos copy reported by Mai, for the latter is mentioned in a thirteenth century catalogue

[1] A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, 1843, ix. p. ix.

[2] F. C. Conybeare, *Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchæus and of Timothy and Aquila*, 1898.

[3] A. Mai, *Nova bibliotheca*, 1853, vi. II. p. 539.

of the Patmos library. The writer hopes later to be able to publish the textual evidence of the Escorial manuscript complete. Meanwhile its type of text may be judged from the following readings. The collation is with Mr. Conybeare's printed text, the page and line numbers being those of his edition. V designates readings of his manuscript (Vaticanus) in cases where, in his printed text, he has departed from it by conjecture.

P. 65, 6. [Fol. 110, verso.] πληρούντων pro πληρουμένων cum V. — 7. καὶ ὁμούσιον add. post ἁγίαν. — 8. ἐδιώκετω pro ἐδιώκετο. ἐπολιτεύετω pro ἐπολιτεύετο. κατεκρίνετο pro κατεβάλλετο. δὲ add. post φιλοξενία. — 9. αἰσχύνετο pro ᾐσχύνετο. δὲ[1] om. μισόκαλλος pro μισόκαλος. δαίμον pro δαίμων. θεωρίσας pro θεωρήσας. — 11. πάνυ ἠγανάκτησεν pro ὑπερηγανάκτησεν, fors. cum V? — 12. ὄφεος pro ὄφεως. εἰς pro πρὸς. — 13. γὰρ add. post διὰ. tr. οὐκ ἠδύνατο κατὰ χριστοῦ εἰπεῖν. — 14. καὶ add. ante διὰ. κατηγγέλη pro κατηγγέλθη. πάλην pro πάλιν. τοῦτο pro τοῖς, cf. V. — 15. οὕτως pro οὗτος. — 16. ἐλθῆν pro ἐλθεῖν. νῦν add. post γὰρ. φησίν pro . . . — 18. υἱὸν θεοῦ pro θεόν. ἡμᾶς add. post διδάσκουσιν. — 19. κύριος add. ante εἰς. — 20. μωῦσῆ pro μωῦσεῖ. — 21. στορικοῖς pro ἱστορικοῖς. — 23. ἔλθει pro ἔλθῃ. — 25. ὁ om. — [Fol. 111, recto.] 27. λέγωντος pro λέγοντος.

P. 66, 1. μετόπῳ pro μετώπῳ. ἐαυτοῦ pro αὐτοῦ. — 2. συνκαθεσθέντες pro σὺ καθεσθέντες. ποιούμεθα pro ποιήσωμεν. — 4. φησὶν pro φησί. — 5. ἰδαῖος pro ἰουδαῖος. — 6. καθησάντων pro καθισάντων. ἀκροτηρίου pro ἀκροατηρίου. — 7. ἰδαῖος pro ἰουδαῖος. — 8. ποιήσασθε pro ποιήσασθαι. — 9. ἀποβάλλη pro ἀποβάλλει. βίβλων pro βίβλον. — 10. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 12. σε add. post ὀνομάσαι. — 13. εἶπε om. — 14. εἶπεν om. ἀκοῦσαι pro ἀκούσει. — 15. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. εἰσιν pro εἰσι. τὴν pro τὸν cum V. — 17. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 18. ἑρμηνευταὶ om. — 19. ἐκδόσεις add. post δύο. — 20. νικοπόλι pro νικοπόλει. — 21. γεναμένης pro γενομένης. ἐσπασιανοῦ pro οὐεσπασιανοῦ. — 22. παρὰ pro παρ'. — 23. ἐξόδου pro ἔξοδος. — 25. ἀλλὰ διὰ μωυσέως δευτερονομιθέντα add. post ὑπαγορευθέντα. — 26. $\overline{\overline{\varsigma}}$ pro $\overline{\overline{\text{B}}}$. ἰ(ησοῦ)ς pro $\overline{\varsigma}$. — [Fol. 111, verso.]

27. *τῶν* om. — 28. δ̄ add. post *η̄*. — 29. *εἶτα* add. ante *ἡσαΐας*. — 30. *ἐθὴρ* pro *ἐσθήρ*. — 32. *κζ* pro *κ̄ς̄*. — 33. *ε̄* pro . . . *στοιχία* pro *στοιχεῖα*. — 35. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *ἐστιν* pro *ἐστὶ*. *λέγεται* pro *λέγετε*. — 36. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *τίς* pro *τί*. *χρείαν* pro *χρεία*. — 37. *δωκεῖς* pro *δοκεῖς*. *ἐλλέγχειν* pro *ἐλέγχειν*. — 39. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *πρώτη* corr., man. prim. *πρῶτον*. — 40. *ὁ ἀπόστολος παῦλος* pro *αἱ ἀπὸ παύλου*. *ἔχωμεν* pro *ἔχομεν*.

P. 67, 1. *ἃ* om. *βούλεσε* pro *βούλεσαι*. *ἔχεις* om. — 3. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *βούλη* pro *βούλει*. — 4. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *βούλεσε* pro *βούλεσαι*. *ἀκούῃς* pro *ἀκούεις*. — 6. *εἶπε* om. *βούλομαι σε* pro *βούλεσαι*. *κατηχηθέντα* pro *κατηχηθέντας*. *καί* om. — 8. *ὦ* pro *ὡς*. — 9. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 10. *ὁ*[1] om. — 12. *καὶ* add. ante *σφραγισάμενος*. — 14. tr. *αὐτὸν οἱ ἀκροαταὶ*. *καὶ κλίναντα τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ δακρύσαντα* add. post *ἀναστάντα*. — 15. *εἶπαν* pro *εἶπον*. *εἰπῶτος* pro *εἰπόντος*. — [Fol. 112, recto.] 19. *τίνι . . . ὁμοίωσιν* om. *τίνι ἔλεγεν* add. post *πάλιν*. — 20. *τὸ* add. ante *ὑποκάτω*. *ὠφθήτω* pro *ὀφθήτω*. — 23. *τὰ* add. ante *τετράποδα*. — 26. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *οὐρανοῦ* pro *ἄνου*. — 27. *ἐπάγη* pro *ἐπάγει*. — 32. *ἑτέρῳ* pro *ἑτέρᾳ*. *περιέχων* pro *περιέχον*, cf. V. *ἴδεν* pro *εἶδεν*. — 35. *ὁμολόγησας* pro *ὡμολόγησας*. *σαμαρίτου* pro *σαμαρείτου*. *προεβάλου* pro *προεβάλλου*. — 36. *ἅγιον* pro *αὐτόν*. — 38. *δῆλον* pro *δεῖ*. — 42. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*.

P. 68, 1. *βίτα* pro *βῆτα*. *προσονοιμίαν* prc *προσονομασίαν* cum V. [Fol. 112, verso.] *μάθε* pro *μάνθανε*. — 2. *κοσμοποιείας* pro *κοσμοποιίας*. *ἡ πότε* pro *ὑπό τε*. — 4. *ἡ* add. ante *ἀποδείξεις*.

Another manuscript of the dialogue was subsequently observed by the writer in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Several leaves have been lost from this copy, making it far from complete, yet it enables us to improve the published text in so many places that its evidence becomes of positive value. The manuscript (Coislin. 299) belongs to the thirteenth century, and seems at one time to have been in a library of St. Mary Deipara, for on the first *recto* in a rude hand are the words: *βιβλί(ον) τ(ῆς) παναγί(ας) θ(εοτό)κου τ(ῆς) φοβην(ῆς)*. ℣

On the *recto* of the first fly leaf (A), in a much later hand and ink, appears *γρόσα γ'* 27. At the end of the codex on the *verso* of fol. 295, stands a statement of the number of leaves, in the same sprawling hand as the *βιβλίον* of fol. 1:

† ἔχοι φύλα σ̄· ενενικ(ον)τα β̄ ϡ

that is, *ἔχει φύλλα διακόσια ἐνενήκοντα δύο.*

The last leaf-number in the present manuscript, however, is 295, and there are, furthermore, two fly leaves, A and B, at the beginning, not included in this numeration. These are made of a large single leaf from some older patristic uncial, doubled so as to form two leaves. The manuscript contains a variety of patristic works: (1) *Homiliae Christianae fragmentum*, foll. 1–3; (2) *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati quod non oporteat sabbatizare post Christi adventum*, foll. 4–69; (3) *Dialogus Timothei et Aquilae*, foll. 69–122; (4) *Tropaea divinae et invictae Dei ecclesiae erecta contra Judaeos in metropoli Damasco;* (5) *Contra haereses.* The remaining titles represent works of Dionysius of Alexandria, Paul of Samosata, Athanasius, Gregory of Neocaesarea, and Cyril of Alexandria. On the back the book is labelled "S. Athanasius." The leaves measure 19 × 24 cm. They are inscribed in double columns with twenty-six lines to the column. The gatherings are in threes and fours. The dialogue begins on the last *recto* of the ninth quire (fol. 69) and ends on the third *recto* of the seventeenth (fol. 122). Through the loss of one or two single leaves from various quires there are lacunae after foll. 96, 100, 104, 107, 109, 121. In all these cases but the fourth (fol. 107), a fine modern hand has written the word "Lacuna" at the foot of the last preceding *verso*.

The collation of the Paris manuscript with Conybeare's text follows:

P. 65, 2. [Fol. 69, recto, col. 2.] *γενάμενος* pro *γενόμενος*. — 3. *ταῖς* om. *τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου* om. — 8. *καὶ* add. ante *φιλοξενία*. — 9. *ὁ* add. ante *θεὸς*. — 10. *πάνυ ἠγανάκτησεν* pro *ὑπερηγανάκτησεν*. — 13. *ὅτι* add. ante *μὲν τὸ κατὰ σάρκα*. — 14. *πάντως*

pro *πάλιν*. *τοῦτο* pro *τοῖς*. *πᾶσι* pro *πᾶσιν*. — 15. *ἱερουσαλήμ* pro *ἰσραήλ*. *ὁ* om. ante *ἀκύλας*. — 16. *προσκυνοῦσι* pro *-σιν*. *φη(σὶ)* pro . . . — 17. *ἐστι* pro *ἐστιν*. — 18. *υἱὸν θεοῦ* pro *θεόν*. *ἡμᾶς* add. post *διδάσκουσιν*. — 19. *ἐστι* pro *ἔστιν*. — 20. *μωϋσῆ* pro *μωϋσεῖ*. — 22. *ὅτι* add. ante *μὲν Πόθεν ἐστιν*. — 24. *ἐστί* pro *ἐστιν*.

P. 66, 1. *ἐστι* pro *ἐστιν*. — 2. *συγκαθεσθέντες* pro *σὺ καθεσθέντες*. — 3. *δὲ* add. ante *ἰουδαῖος*. — 4. *βούλει* pro *βούλῃ*. — 9. *ἀποβάλλη* pro *ἀποβάλλει*. — 10. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *ἀποσήσασθαι* pro *ἀποσίασθαι*. — 12. *σε* add. ante *ὀνομάσαι*. *κατησχύνθη* pro *καταισχύνθη*. — 13. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 14. *ἀκούσῃ* pro *ἀκούσει*. — 15. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *δὲ* om. *τὴν* pro *τὸν* cum V. — 17. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *εἰσί* pro *εἰσίν*. — 18. *ἐβδομηκονταδύο* add. ante *ἑβραῖοι*. — 23. *δευτέρα* pro B. *τρίτον οἱ ἀριθμοί* pro Γ *τὸ Λευϊτικόν*. *τέταρτον τὸ λευϊτικόν* pro Δ *οἱ ἀριθμοί*. *θεόπνευστοι* add. ante *διὰ*. — 24. *πέμπτη* pro E. *ἐστὶν* pro *ἐστὶ*. — [Fol. 71, recto.] 25. *ὑπαγορευθέν* pro *ὑπαγορευθέντα*. *ἀρῶνι* pro *ἀρῶνα*. — 26. *ἕκτη* pro B. *ἰ(ησοῦ)ς* pro $\overline{ς}$. *ἑβδόμη* pro Z. — 27. *ὀγδόη* pro H. *πρώτη καὶ δευτέρα* pro *α καὶ β* bis. *ἔννατος* pro $\overline{Θ}$. *δεκάτη* pro I. — 28. *τῶν βασιλειῶν τρίτη καὶ τετάρτη* pro $\overline{γ}$ *καὶ* $\overline{δ}$ *τῶν βασιλειῶν*. — 29. $\overline{ις}$ add. ante *ἡσαΐας*. $\overline{ιζ}$ add. ante *ἱερεμίας*. $\overline{ιη}$ pro *καὶ πάλιν*. — 30. $\overline{ιθ}$ pro *εἶτα*. $\overline{κ}$ *ἔσδρας* pro *καὶ πάλιν ἔσδρας*. *δὲ* om. *τὼβίαν* pro *τοβίαν*. — 31. *ἑβδομήκοντα δύο* pro $\overline{οβ}$. — 32. *εἰκοσιδύο* pro $\overline{κβ}$ bis. *εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ* pro $\overline{κς}$. — 33. *πέντε* pro . . . — 35. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *ἐστιν* pro *ἐστὶ*. — 36. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — [Fol. 71, verso.] 39. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 40. *τοῦ ἀποστόλου* pro *αἱ ἀπὸ*. *δεκατέσσαρες* pro $\overline{ΙΔ}$.

P. 67, 1. *ἃ* om. — 3. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 4. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 6. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *κατηχηθῆναι* pro *κατηχηθέντας*. — 9. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 10. *ὁ*[1] om. — 12. *καὶ*[2] om. *καὶ* add. ante *σφραγισάμενος*. — [Fol. 72, recto.] 15. *εἰπώντος* pro *εἰπόντος*. — 17. *αὐτὸν* pro *τὸν*. — 20. *ὠφθήτω* pro *ὀφθήτω*. — 24. *δὲ* add. post *καθὼς*. *προείπομεν* pro *προείπαμεν*. — 26. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *τῶν* add. ante *ἄλλων*. — 27. *εἶδεν* pro *ἴδεν*. — 28. *ἐποίησε* pro *ἐποίησεν*. *καὶ*[2] om. — [Fol. 72, verso.] 32. *τῷ* add. ante *δᾶδ*. *εἶχε* pro *εἶχεν*. — 35. *ἐμολόγησας* pro *ὡμολόγησας*. *περιεβάλου* pro *προεβάλλου*. — 36. *μήτε υἱὸν* add. post *ὀνομάσας*.

ἅγιον pro αὐτόν. ἐρωτῶ pro ἐρῶ. — 38. δῆλον pro δεῖ. — 42. εἶπεν pro εἶπε.

P. 68, 1. προσωνυμίαν pro προσονομασίαν. — 4. δός pro δῶς. καὶ add. ante ἀποδείξεις. πείθωμαί pro πείθομαί. — 5. γεμίσας pro γομώσας. — 6. καὶ om. μεταδίδω pro μεταδιδώ(σω). — 8. σύμβουλος pro σύνβουλος. — 10. ἐδώθη pro ἐδόθη. — 15. δυνηθῆς pro δυνηθεὶς. — 17. ἐστι pro ἐστίν. — 18. ἐμμέσω pro ἐν μέσῳ. — 19. ἐν τοῖς pro αὐτοῖς. λέγετε pro λέγεται. — 20. εὑρίσκομεν pro εὑρίσκωμεν. ἐστὶ pro ἐστίν. — 21. γαλουχεῖται pro γαλακτουχεῖται. — 22. τοῦ om. ante ἡρώδου. — 24. μὴν om. — 26. ὅπερ pro ἅπερ cum V. — [Fol. 74, recto.] 27. ἐτυπτίθη pro ἐτυπτήθη. — 28. ξενίζομαι pro . . ενιζον . . — 31. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 36. πληρης pro π . . ρεις. — 37. τὴν add. post καὶ. ἠτήσω pro ᾔτησας. — 38. μου pro μοι cum V. — 39. σν pro σόι.

P. 69, 1. ἀγαγῶν pro ἄγων. ἀποδείξεις ἀληθεῖς pro ἀπόδειξιν ἀληθῶς. — [Fol. 74, verso.] 2. ἔλεγε pro ἔλεγεν. οἱ pro αἱ. — 3. τῷ πνεύματι pro τὸ $\overline{\text{πνα}}$. τῶ add. ante $\overline{\text{κῳ}}$. — 5. τῆς om. ἐστι pro ἐστιν. τούτω pro ταῦτα. — 9. ἔβρεξε pro ἔβρεξεν. — 10. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 11. ἔστι pro ἔστιν. ἄλλας pro ἄλλα. — 12. διηγούμενον pro διηγούμενος. — 14. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — [Fol. 75, recto.] ὁμολόγησα pro ὡμολόγησα. — 15. υἱοῦ pro $\overline{\text{ῡ}}$. — 17. ἀκούσῃ pro ἀκούσει. — 18. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. χριστὸν pro $\overline{\text{ιν}}$. ἕνα pro ἓν cum V. — 19. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 23. ποικίλας pro ποικίλους. — 26. εἶχε pro εἶχεν. — [Fol. 75, verso.] 29. αὐθάδειαν pro αὐθαδίαν. — 31. [ὁ χριστιανὸς] om. ὅτι om. — 33. τὸ pro τῷ. — 35. ἐφραθᾶ pro εὐφραθά. — 36. ἐφραθὰ pro εὐφραθά. — 38. αἱ om. — 39. καλέσουσι pro καλέσουσιν. ἐστι pro ἐστιν. — [Fol. 76, recto.] 40. γινώσκεις pro γινώσκῃς. ἐστι pro ἐστίν.

P. 70, 3. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 4. περὶ pro ἐπ'. — 5. διδιχ̣ ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται ἐμός pro διδιχ̣ ὁ ἑρμηνεὺς ἐμός. — 6. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. καὶ κατὰ τάξιν εἶπες pro κατάξινεῖ. — 7. ἐφύλαξε pro ἐφύλαξεν. καὶ σὺ οἶδας om. — 9. μωύσέως pro μωῦσῆ. — 10. ἐπιγραμβεύσεται pro ἐπιγαμβρεύσητε. παρώργησε pro παρώργησεν. — 11. $\overline{\text{κν}}$ om. — 12. χρίση pro χρήσει. — [Fol. 76, verso.] Ἰσραὴλ pro $\overline{\text{ιλημ}}$. — 13. σολομῶνα pro σαλομών. — 14. ἔσφαξε pro ἔσφαξεν. — 16. βασιλειῶν pro βασιλέων. — 17. ἐστι pro ἔστην. πιστοποιὸν pro πιστοποιῶν. — 18. τοῦτο om. — 19. ἀσσυρίων

pro *ἀσυρίων*. *ἀμὼν* pro *ἄνων*. — 21. *οὗτος* pro *οὕτω*. — 22. *κύριος* add. post *αὐτὸν*. *θελλασαρασὰρ* pro *θελασαρασὰρ*. — 23. *ἐξεζήτησε* pro *ἐξεζήτησεν*. *τὸν* add. ante *κν̄*. — [FOL. 77, recto.] 28. *ἐπανέλθωμεν* pro *τραπῶμεν*. *ἐλέγομεν* pro *ἐλέγαμεν*. — 33. *προεμήνυσε* pro *προεμήνυσεν*. *θρῆνος καὶ* add. ante *κλαυθμός*. — 34. *ἤθελε* pro *ἤθελεν*. — 36. *αὐτὴν* add. post *ἔδωκεν*. — [FOL. 77, verso.] 40. *ἐστι* pro *ἐστιν*.

P. 71, 1. *εἶπεν* add. post *ἰουδαῖος*. — 3. *νέα* pro *μία* cum V. — 4. *ἀσθενείας* pro *ἀσθενίας*. — 6. *δὲ* pro *γὰρ*. *προδώσαντος* pro *προδώσοντος* cum V. — 8. *δώτε* pro *δότε*. *στήσατε* pro *στήσαντες*. *τὸ* pro *τὸν*. — 10. *ἀπαντὴν* pro *ἀπάντησιν*. — [FOL. 78, recto.] 13. *κατηρτήσω* pro *κατηρτίσω*. *καὶ* add. post *δὲ*. — 14. *λεγον* pro *λέγων*. — 16. *τὰ ἔργα* pro *τὸ ἔργον*. *αὐτοστομάτως* om. *αὐτῇ* om. — 18. *καὶ* add. ante *ἐπιβεβηκὼς*. *δὲ τοῦ* add. post *περὶ*. — 19. *εἶπον* pro *εἶπαν*. — 20. *ἡ συγγένεια* pro *αἱ συγγένειαι*. *πάσας* add. ante *τὰς*. — 21. *τεσσαρακοστῷ* pro *μβ*. — 23. tr. *πονηρὸν λογισμὸν*. — [FOL. 78, verso.] *καὶ διελογίσαντο βουλὴν πονηρὰν λέγοντες· δεῦτε* om. — 24. *δύσχριστός* pro *δύσχρηστος*. *ἡμῖν* om. — 26. *δύσχριστος* pro *δύσχρηστος*. *ἐστι* pro *ἐστίν*. — 28. *ὡσιὲ . . . ἰαρίμ* om. — 30. *γὰρ* om. — 31. *δὲ καὶ* pro *γὰρ*. *ἰαρείμ* pro *ἰαρίμ*. *δὲ* om. — 35. *δὲ* om. *τοῦ* pro [*τοῦ*]. — 36. *μὲν* om. — 37. *αἱ ψύαι* pro *ἡ ψυχή* cum V. *ἐπλήσθησαν* pro *ἐπλήσθη*. — [FOL. 79, recto.] *με* pro *μοι*. — 41. *δύσχριστος* pro *δύσχρηστος*.

P. 72, 2. *παιδείας* pro *παιδιᾶς*. — 7. *ὕβρη* pro *ὕβρει*. — 8. *ἐξετάσωμεν* pro *ἐτάσωμεν*. — [FOL. 79, verso.] 11. *δὲ*[2] om. — 13. *ἀπεστράφη* pro *ἀπέστρεψα*. — 14. *ὁ* add. ante *κύριος*. — 15. *ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ αὐτοῦ ζήσωμεν* add. ante *ἐν*. *ἐθνεσι* pro *ἔθνεσιν*. — [FOL. 80, recto.] 21. *αὐθάδειαν* pro *αὐθαδίαν*. — 23. *ὡσεὶ* pro *ὡς εἰ* bis. — 24. *ἐξέλθετε* pro *ἐξέλθατε*. *σολομῶνα* pro *σολομὼν*. — 25. *αὐτὸν* add. post *ἐστεφάνωσεν*. — 26. *ἤχη* pro *ἤχθη*. — 27. *κείροντος* pro *κείραντος*. — 28. *αἴρετε* pro *αἴρεται*. — 29. *εἶχε* pro *εἶχεν*. — 33. *διασκορπισθήσονται* pro *διασκορπίσθωσαν*. [FOL. 80, verso.] *καὶ φυγέτωσαν ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ οἱ μισοῦντες αὐτόν·* add. post *αὐτοῦ*. — 34. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *κεκραιπαλικὼς* pro *κεκραιπαληκὼς*. — 35. *ἐπάταξε* pro *ἐπάταξεν*. — 38. *ἐν* pro *ἐμ*. — 42. *ὠνείδησε* pro *ὠνείδησεν*.

P. 73, 2. καὶ om. — 3. γυναιξὶ pro γυναιξίν. — [Fol. 81, recto.] 4. ὁ om. — 5. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 7. οὔτε pro οὔτ'. οὔτε στ̄ρ̄οῡ om. — 10. ἡτγόμενος pro ἡττώμενος. — 11. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. ἔδειξέ pro ἐδειξέν. ἰησοῦν add. post κ̄δ̄. — 12. μέγα pro μέγαν. — 13. αὐτοῦ pro αὐτῷ cum V. εἶπε pro εἶπεν. ἐπιτιμήσαι pro ἐπιτιμήσει. — 16. καὶ περιέβαλον . . . κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ om. — 18. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. ἰησοῦν pro ῑ̄ν̄. — 19. ἠτήσω pro ᾔτησας. — [Fol. 81, verso.] 20. τοῦ pro τούτου, man. prim.; του suppl. corr. — 22. ζησώμεθα pro ζησόμεθα. — 26. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 28. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. ἐφόρεσε pro ἐφόρεσεν. — 30. ἱερωσύνην pro ἱεροσύνην. — 31. ἱερωσύνην pro ἱεροσύνην. — 33. τίνα pro τίν' ἂν. — 34. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 35. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 36. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — [Fol. 82, recto.] 38. ἀποθούμενος pro ἀπωθούμενος. — 42. γέγρα pro γέγραπται.

P. 74, 2. κατεσκαμμένα pro κατεσκευασμένα. — 3. μετορκομοσίας pro μεθ' ὁρκωμοσίας. — 5. ὤμοσε pro ὤμοσεν. — 6. εἰ add. post σὺ. — [Fol. 82, verso.] 9. οὐκ pro μὴ. καὶ[2] om. ἐπηγγείλατο pro ἐπηγγείλαντο. — 10. τί pro τι cum V. — 13. ἔρχη pro εἰσέρχει. — 14. ὡς pro ὃν. — 15. αὐτοῦ pro αὐτῷ. τὰ om. — 17. διέρμηνεύεται pro δὲ ἑρμηνεύεται. βλέπε pro βλέπει. — 18. εὐλογημένος pro εὐλογούμενος. — 19. αὐτῶ pro αὐτοῦ. κυρίου καὶ add. ante θῡ. καὶ add. ante ἐν. — 20. κ̄ν̄ om. ὁ θεὸς add. ante διὰ. μὲν pro δὲ[2]. — 21. εἰπώντος pro εἰπόντος. — 22. θήρευσόν pro θήρασόν. — [Fol. 83, recto.] 24. ἐποίησε pro ἐποίησεν. — 25. ἀλλ pro ἀλλὰ. — 26. tr. υἱοῦ αὐτῆς. αὐτὴν om. — 27. ἔδωκε pro ἔδωκεν. — εἶπε pro εἶπεν. — 28. εὐλογήσει pro εὐλογήση. τῶ pro αὐτῷ. εἶπεν add. post ὁ δέ. — 29. tr. ὁ πρωτότοκος υἱός σου. — 31. tr. ὁ ἰσαὰκ τὸν ἰακὼβ. τὴν add. ante ὀσμὴν. πλήρης pro πλήρους cum V. — 32. εὐλόγησε pro εὐλόγησεν. δώει pro δῴη. — 33. προσκυνήσουσί pro προσκυνήσουσίν. σε pro σοι. — 34. καὶ[1] om. — 35. βλέπωμεν pro βλέπομεν. — [Fol. 83, verso.] 38. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 41. ὑμεῖς pro ἡμεῖς. — 42. εἶπεν pro εἶπε.

P. 75, 2. ἔφη pro εἶπεν. τῶ pro τῇ. — 3. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. ἔκρινε pro ἔκρινεν. — 5. περισσὸν pro περισσῶν. — 8. ἔπεσε pro ἔπεσεν. — [Fol. 84, recto.] 10. [οὐ] om. ἰσαῦ pro ἡσαὺ. εἰπῶντος pro εἰπόντος. — 14. τὸ ποίημα add. ante τοῦ. — 17. γενάμενος pro γενόμενος. — 18. ταῦτα pro τὰ αὐτὰ.

— 19. γέγονε pro γέγονεν. — 20. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. εἶδεν pro ἴδεν. — 21. εἶδεν pro ἴδεν. προσεδόκα pro προσέδωκα. — 22. ζητοῦτος man. prim.; ζητοῦντος corr. — [Fol. 84, verso.] 24. tr. σοι μία. περ[2] om. — 25. ἐστήρησα pro ἐστήρισα. — 26. κρέασι pro κρέασιν. — 27. ἐστὶ pro ἐστιν. ἐστήρησα pro ἐστήρισα. — 28. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. κατὰ τὴν προφητείαν pro καθὼς εἶπεν. — 29. κρέα pro κρέατα. ἢ pro οὐδὲ. — 31. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. ἐστιν pro ἐστι. — 32. χριστὸς pro κς. ἐπινεύσει pro ἐπινεύσῃ. — 34. ἀποθούμενον pro ἀπωθούμενον. — 35. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 36. τί pro εἰ. εἶδεν pro ἴδεν. — 37. ὄρκιζε pro ὅρκιζεν. — 39. ἐπὶ pro ὑπὸ. — [Fol. 85, recto.] 40. τῶν χαναναίων om. — 41. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 42. ἐζήτει pro ἐζήτησε. τεθῆναι pro θῆναι.

P. 76, 1. αὐτοῦ pro αὐτῆς. — 3. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 7. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 8. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. καὶ[1] om. — 10. ἐστὶ pro ἐστιν[2]. ἐν[2] om. τὸ pro τῷ. — 11. ματθαῖον pro ματθαία, add. εὐαγγέλιον. οὕτω περιέχον pro οὕτως δὲ περιέχει. ἐγέννησε pro ἐγέννησεν. — 12. ἐγέννησε pro ἐγέννησεν. — [Fol. 85, verso.] 13. δὲ add. post φησὶν. — 15. λαλήσαντα pro λαλήσαντες. πλήρης pro πλῆρες. — 16. εἰς pro εἴ. δόξεις pro δόξῃς. — 17. γὰρ add. post οὕτως. — 18. τὸν add. ante ἰακώβ. — 19. ἀμηναδάβ pro ἀμιναδάβ bis. — 20. βοώζ pro βοόζ. βοὼζ pro βοὸζ. ἐκ τῆς ῥούθ om. — 21. δᾶδ pro δαβὶδ bis. — 23. ἰωάθαμ pro ἰωθάμ et ἰωθὰμ. — 25. δὲν pro δὲ. — 26. tr. ἰεχονίας [Fol. 86, recto] ἐγέννησε. σαλαθιήλ pro σαλαθαήλ. σαλαθιὴλ pro σαλαθαὴλ. 28. τὸν add. post τὸν[2]. — 32. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. λέγετε pro λέγεται. δὲ om. — 35. τού pro τούτου. — 38. ἀποκρύφω pro ἀπόκρυφα. μὴ δὲ pro μήτε. ἐνωτίση pro ἐνωτίσει. — 39. καὶ pro μὴ. — [Fol. 86, verso.] 40. εἶπεν pro εἶπε.

P. 77, 1. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 2. καὶ[2] om. — 3. ἐλάλησε pro ἐλάλησεν (corr.?). — 4. οὐδου pro οὐδὲ. κύριον corr. μὴ[2] om. — 6. καλέσουσι pro καλέσουσιν. — 10. εἶπες pro εἶπε. πάντα add. post ταῦτα. — 11. εἶπεν pro εἶπε bis. — [Fol. 87, recto.] 14. ἐπηγγείλο pro ἐπηγγείλου. — 15. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. ταύτας pro ταῦτα. προβάλλωμεν pro προβάλλομεν. tr. μέχρι γὰρ. — 16. εἰς κύριον καυχώμεθα pro εἰσκαυχώμεθα. πρὸς τὰ ἔτι pro προσέτι. — 18. ἡ δὲ βάτος οὐ κατεκαίετο om. — 19. ἔστιν pro ἐστι. τοῦ τοκέτου τῆς παρθένου pro τοῦτο καὶ

τοῦ καὶ τῆς παρθενίας. — 20. ὅσα pro ὃ. — 23. ἕκαστος pro ἕκαστον. ἀπέστειλε pro ἀπέστειλεν. — 24. ὑπαγγέλου pro ἄγγελος κυ. ἔδωκε pro ἔδωκεν. ἀπεκατάστησεν pro ἀπεκατέστησεν. — 25. εὗρε pro εὗρεν. — [Fol. 87, verso.] 28. ὁ add. ante ἀμβακοὺμ. — 29. γράφει pro γράφη. — 31. γινόμενον pro γενόμενον. ἀσφαλία pro ἀσφαλείᾳ. δαρείου pro δαρίου. — 33. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. ἐπιφερούσης pro ἐμφερούσης. — 34. ὑποδείγματι pro ὑποδείγματα. — 36. τὰ add. ante ἔξωθεν. — 37. αἰσθώμεθα pro αἰσθανόμεθα. — 38. εἶπον pro εἶπεν. ἐσφραγίσατο pro ἐσφραγίσαντο. — 39. συμπεριφέρομαί pro συμπεριφέρωμαί. δὲ om. ἐπάγη pro ἐπάγει. — 40. πενθῆσαι pro πένθους εἰς. — 41. ἐβόησε pro ἐβόησεν.

P. 78, 3. [Fol. 88, recto.] ἀπέστειλε pro ἀπέστειλεν. — 7. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. σφραγίδαι pro σφραγῖδες. — 10. οὐδὲν pro οὐδὲ. — 11. οὖν add. post εἶπον. — 12. σφραγίδαι pro σφραγῖδες. — 14. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. δίδης pro διδοῖς. — [Fol. 88, verso.] 17. με pro μετὰ. ἄλλην om. ἀποδείξεις ἀλλ' οὖν add. post αἰτεῖς. τε om. διαλείψωμεν pro διαλήγωμεν. — 18. κς om. — 22. δοξης pro δόξας. — 26. εἶπεν pro εἶπε bis. σολομονιακὸν pro σολομωνιακὸν. — 27. ἔπλησεν pro ἐλάλησεν. — 28. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. ἔπλησε pro ἔπλησεν. — 29. σολομονιακοῦ pro σολομωντιακοῦ. — [Fol. 89, recto.] 30. νεχαὼβ pro νεχαώ. ὁ καὶ pro ὃς. δώρατα λαβὼν pro δῶρα ταλάρων. ἐποίησε pro ἐποίησεν. — 31. δόρατα pro δῶρα τὰ. νεχαὼβ pro νεχαὼ. — 32. ἠρκέσθη pro ἠρκέθη. — 33. καὶ add. ante κατανοήσας. καὶ add. post ἀλλὰ. πυρίον pro πυρεῖον. — 34. ἐλέπρωσεν pro ἐξέπροσεν. ναβουχοδονόσωρ pro ναβουχοδονόσορ. — 35. ἐποίησε pro ἐποίησεν. — 36. φιάλας pro θυσίας (V. θυάλας). σπονδία pro σπονδεῖα. — 37. χρυσίον pro χρυσίων. ὑποκάτω add. post εὑρεθὲν. κυρίου add. post οἴκου. καὶ[3] om. — 38. ἔλαβε pro ἔλαβεν. ναβουχοδονόσορ pro ναβουχοδονόσωρ. 39. τοὺς pro τὰς. — [Fol. 89, verso.] 41. ναβουχοδονόσορ pro ναβουχοδονόσωρ.

P. 79, 1. ἀργυρὰ καὶ add. ante χρυσᾶ. πρὸς τὸ pro ὥστε. — 5. μεχονώθ pro μεχωνώθ. κυθρωκαύλους pro κυθροκάλους. — 6. συνέτριψε pro συνέτριψεν. ἔλαβε pro ἔλαβεν. — 7. ἐνέπρισεν pro ἔπρησεν. — 9. ὠκοδόμησε pro ᾠκοδόμησεν. — 10. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. εἶπες pro εἶπας. — 11. ποιῆσθαι pro ποιεῖσθαι.

— [FOL. 90, recto.] 12. ὦ pro ὢν. — 14. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 15. ἐπηγγείλω pro ἐπηγγείλου. πάντως pro πάντων. — 16. ποιήσασθαι pro ποιεῖσθαι. — 17. σύμβολον pro συμβόλων. — 18. ἀπὸ προσώπου om. — 20. ἔλαβε pro ἔλαβεν. — 22. ἀνέβαινον pro ἐνέβαινον. αὐτὴν pro αὐτῇ. — 23. πᾶσι pro πᾶσιν. — 25. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. καὶ καταβαίνοντες add. post ἀναβαίνοντες. — [FOL. 90, verso.] 29. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 30. εἰσι pro εἰσίν. ἐξεπέτασε pro ἐξεπέτασεν. — 33. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 34. μωῦσῆς pro μωσῆς. — 36. ἐλέγεται pro ἐλέγετε. — 37. τούτοις om. διεπράξατε pro ἐποιήσατε. — 38. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. γεγραμμένα pro γεγραμμένοις. — 39. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. καὶ τὰ om. χείρρωνα τούτων pro χείρονα αὐτῶν. — 41. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. χείρωνα pro χεῖρον. — [FOL. 91, recto.] 42. ἐξουδενοῦντες pro ἐξουδενῶντες.

P. 80, 2. ἐλοιδώρησαν pro ἐλοιδόρησαν. — 5. συκίας pro σικύας. τὰ πράσσα pro πράσα. σκόροδα pro σκόρδα. — 7. δυνήση pro δυνήσει. — 8. ραφίδιν pro ῥαφιδείν. — 9. εἶπε pro εἶπεν. ΙΥ om. σεαυτῶ pro σεαυτοῦ. — [FOL. 91, verso.] 14. ὅπερ pro καθὼς. οἴδαν pro ἴδαν. — 17. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. ζῇ ΚΣ om. εἴπεις pro εἴπῃς. — 18. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. ὑπήρισαν pro ὑπήρησαν cum V. — 20. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 23. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 25. ἦν om. πάσης pro ἐν μέσῳ. — 26. ζωῆς αἰωνίου pro ζωὴν αἰώνιον cum V. — 27. ἐκτείνει pro ἐκτείνῃ. — 29. ἐγέλασε pro ἐγέλασεν. — 31. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 32. τούτων pro πάντων. — [FOL. 92, recto.] 34. τὸν ἅγιον pro τοῦ ἁγίου cum V. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. ἕνεκεν add. ante τοῦ. τανυθέντον pro τανυσθέντος. — 36. οὐ add. ante μὴ. — 37. εἶπεν pro εἶπε bis. — 38. βλέπε pro βλέπεις. θεοποιῆς pro θεοποιεῖς. — 39. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 40. προσκολλήζων pro προσκολίζων. — 41. στράφῆς pro στραφεὶς. — 42. κάτω om. μαρίας om.

P. 81, 1. τῆς παρθένου διὰ om. δεθέντα pro δὲ θέντα. — 2. λύση pro λύσει. — 3. γένηται pro γένοιτο. ἐστι pro ἐστιν. — 5. οὐδεὶς pro οὐδ' εἷς. συζητῶν pro συνζητῶν. — [FOL. 92, verso.] 7. προβάλλων add. post φωτός. — 9. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 11. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 12. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. καὶ pro εἰ. — 13. ὀνησάμεθα pro ὀνισάμεθα. τὰ om. — 14. ἀπόθανεν pro ἀπέθανεν. εἶδον pro ἴδον. — 17. δυσὶ πτέρυξι pro δυσὶν πτέρυξιν. δυσὶ pro δυσίν. κατεκάλυπτον om. — 18. δυσὶ pro

δυσὶν. ἔκραζον pro ἐκέκραγον. — [Fol. 93, recto.] 20. καταγγείλουσιν pro καταγγέλλουσιν. ἅγιος ἅγιος add. post ἅγιος. — 22. ὁ ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τὸ ἅγιος ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος add. post ἀναπαυόμενος. δῆλον pro δηλοῖ. μὲν pro μένον cum V. εὐαρεστήσασιν pro εὐαρεστοῦσιν. — 23. tr. ὅπου φοβερός, ἐστιν αὐτοῦ ὁ θρόνος. — 24. ταῦτα pro αὐτά. — 27. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. ἀποδίδωσι pro ἀποδίδωσιν. — 29. αὐτοῦ corr. — 30. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 32. ἁγίου add. post πνς. — 33. δεικνύεις pro δεικνύς. — [Fol. 93, verso.] 36. μυακίζοντι pro μύακι ζῶντι. — 38. συγκλείη pro συγκλείει. ὕδατος pro νοεροῦ. τί pro τι cum V. — 39. καὶ[1] om.

P. 82, 1. εἶπεν add. post ἰουδαῖος. — 2. ἐνέπλησε pro ἐνέπλησεν. — 4. προέρχεται pro διέρχεται. γλύφειν pro γλυφήν. 5. ἐνεδυνάμωσε pro ἐνεδυνάμωσεν. — [Fol. 94, recto.] 9. ἀρχόμεθα pro ἀρχώμεθα. νῦν om. — 11. οὕτως pro οὐτωσί. — 12. πρὸς pro πρὸ. εἶδεν pro ἴδεν. — 13. ἐρχόμενοι pro ἐρχόμενον. — 14. καὶ προσεκύνησεν add. ante ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. κε ἐκκλίνατε pro κεκλίνατε. — 15. εἵνεκεν pro ἕνεκεν. — 16. τὸν om. — [Fol. 94, verso.] 19. μοχάριον pro μοσχάριον. αὐτὸ pro αὐτῷ. — 20. ἐτάχυνε pro ἐτάχυνεν. — 23. ἐστι pro ἐστιν. τὸν pro τὸ. ἔλαβε pro ἔλαβεν. — 24. γάλα pro γάλαν. — 25. ἐστι add. post ποῦ. — 26. ἰδοὺ add. ante εἰς. εἶδες pro ἴδες. — 29. γενόμενος pro γινόμενος. — 30. εἶπεν man. prim.; εἶπε corr. — [Fol. 95, recto.] 32. ὄψομαι pro ὄψωμαι. συντελοῦντε pro συντελοῦνται. — 33. προσεκύνησε pro προσεκύνησεν. ἀπολέσεις pro ἀπολέσῃς. — 34. ὁ[2] om. οὐ add. ante ποιήσεις. τοῦ pro τὸ[2]. — 37. εἶπεν man. prim.; εἶπε corr. κύριος add. ante πρὸς. — 39. ε̄ pro πέντε. — 40. σαρακοντα pro τεσσαράκοντα bis.

P. 83, 1. ἔτι ἅπαξ om. — [Fol. 95, verso.] 2. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 3. ἐὰν pro καὶ[2]. — 4. προσεκύνησε pro προσεκύνησεν. τῷ κῳ om. — 8. ἐξανέστη pro ἐπανέστη. — 10. εἶπαν pro εἶπον. — 11. αὐτοὶς pro αὐτοῖς[1]. σὺν αὐτῶ pro πρὸς αὐτόν. — 12. μεσούσης pro μέσῳ οὔσης. — 13. αὐτὸν pro τὸν λὼτ. — [Fol. 96, recto.] 14. συγγενόμεθα pro συγγενώμεθα. — 15. ἐξῆλθε pro ἐξῆλθεν. ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ add. ante τὴν θύραν. — 16. εἰσὶ pro εἰσὶν. — 17. αὐταῖς pro αὐτὰς. καθ ὃ βούλεσθε pro καθὰ ἂν ἀρέσκῃ ὑμῖν. — 19. νόμον pro κρίσιν. — 20. κακώσωμεν pro

κακώσομεν. *εἰσεσπάσαντο* pro *εἰσσπάσαντο.* — 21. *προσέωξαν* pro *προσέαξαν.* *ἐπάταξαν* pro *ἐπάταξεν.* — 22. *παρελύθησαν* pro *παρεληλύθασιν.* *ἔστιν* pro *ἔστι.* — 24. *ἐλάλησε* pro *ἐλάλησεν.* — [FOL. 96, verso.] 27. *ἐπεσπούδαζον* pro *εἶπε σπούδαζον.* — 30. *σώζων σώζε* pro *σώζου*[1]. *σεαυτοῦ* pro *ἑαυτοῦ.* — 35. *τοῦ* pro *τοῦτο* man. prim.; *τοῦτο* corr. *σιγώρ* pro *σηγώρ.* *ἔβρεξε* pro *ἔβρεξεν.* — 36. *ἔβρεξε* pro *ἔβρεξεν.* — 38. *ἔδωκε* pro *ἔδωκεν.* [*δικαίους* . . . P. 85, 13, *οὐ*]*κ* amissis in lacuna cum foll. 2. (fol. 96, verso, expl. *ἕως δέκα*; fol. 97, recto, inc. *κ ἀρεστὸν ἦν*).

P. 85, 13. [FOL. 97, recto.] *καὶ* add. ante *ἀβραὰμ.* — 14. *διεμέρισε* pro *διεμέρισεν.* — 16. *ὃν ὅρκωσεν* pro *ὤρκωσεν γὰρ.* — 17. *εἶχε* pro *εἶχεν.* *οὖν* om. *ἥρπαξε* pro *ἥρπαξεν.* — 18. *ὑπῆρχε* pro *ὑπῆρχεν.* *ἐγέννησε* pro *ἐγέννησεν.* — 19. *στραῖν* pro *στραῖμ.* — 24. *ἀπεκδέχετο* pro *ἀπεκδέχεται.* — [FOL. 97, verso.] 25. *οὐ* add. post *οὐ.* — 26. *εἶδεν* pro *ἴδεν.* — 27. *πεποκότος* pro *πεπωκότος.* *ἀμπελῶνο* pro *ἀμπελῶνος.* — 32. *χαναὰν* pro *χανὰν.* *σκηνώμασι* pro *σκηνώμασιν.* — 33. *ἔσχε* pro *ἔσχεν.* — 34. *αὐτοῦ* pro *αὐτῶν.* *θύων* add. post *πυρὶ.* *ἠθέλησε* pro *ἠθέλησεν.* — 35. *συμμέτοχον* pro *συνμέτοχον.* — 37. *ἑαυτοῦ* pro *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ.* *εἶδεν* pro *ἴδεν.* — [FOL. 98, recto.] 39. *ἀνήνεγκεν* pro *ἀνένεγκεν.* — 40. *λέγων*[2] om.

P. 86, 1. *ὁ* add. ante *ἰακὼβ.* *μωϋσῆς* pro *μωσῆς.* *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε.* *τοῦ* add. ante *ιυ.* *ὑμῶν* om. — 2. *ἀκούσεσθε* pro *ἀκούσατε.* — 3. *καὶ διαμαρτυρίαν* om. *ὑμᾶς* pro *ἡμᾶς.* *διαμαρτύρομαί σοι* pro *διαμαρτυροῦμαι.* — 4. *προσκυνήσῃς* pro *προσκυνήσεις.* — 8. *δὲ* add. post *μετὰ.* — 9. *ἀγγέλοις* om. — 13. *εὐλόγησε* pro *εὐλόγησεν.* — 14. *στηρήσας* pro *στηρίσας.* — 15. *κατέστησε* pro *κατέστησεν.* — 19. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε.* — 20. *αὐτῆς* pro *τῆς γραφῆς.* *ὡσφράνθη* pro *ὠσφράνθη.* — 20–21. *τὰ δὲ* . . . *ὁ ἰακὼβ* om. — 22. *εὐλόγησε* pro *εὐλόγησεν.* *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε.* — [FOL. 99, recto.] 24. *ἐνεδύσατο γάρ με* pro *ἐνέδυσέν με γὰρ.* *περιέβαλε* pro *περιέβαλεν.* — 25. *μήτραν* pro *μίτραν.* *κατεκόσμησέ* pro *κατεκόσμησέν.* *κόσμον* pro *κόσμῳ.* — 26. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε.* — 27. *ἄσμασι* pro *ᾄσμασιν.* — 28. *καὶ* add. ante *ἐτρύγησεν.* — 31. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε.* *τηλαυγῶς* pro *δηλαυγῶς.* — 33. *ἀκούση* pro *ἀκούσει.* — 34. *κ' ἂν*[2] om. — 37. *καὶ σημείων* pro . . . . . — [FOL. 99, verso.] 39. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε.* *αὕτη* pro *αὐτὴ.*

P. 87, 1. *σε* pro *σοι*. *οἱ* om. tr. *ἐκ βλαστοῦ νιέ μου ἀνέβης*. 2. *ἐκοιμήθη* pro *ἐκοιμήθης*. *ὦ* pro *ὅ*. — 8. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 10. tr. *ἐστιν ἐκ βλαστοῦ· οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν*. *ἡμῖν* pro *ὑμῖν*. — 11. *καλέσουσι* pro *καλέσουσιν*. — [Fol. 100, recto.] 14. *οὕτω* pro *οὕτως*. — 15. *δὲ εὑρὼν* pro *διευρὼν*. — 17. tr. *αὐτὴν αὐτῶ*. *λιθοβολίσωσιν* pro *λιθοβολήσωσιν*. — 18. *ἀποθανεῖται* pro *ἀποθάνηται*. *ἰσραήλ* pro *ἰλημ*. *νεάνι* pro *νεάνι⟨δι⟩* cum V. *ποιήσετε* pro *ποιήσεται*. — 22. *πάντη* pro *πάντα*. *τὸν* pro *τὸ*. *χαλκόν* pro *χαλκοῦν*. — 23. *χρυσόν* pro *χρυσοῦν*. — 24. *εἰσελθὼν* pro *ἐλθὼν*. *ἐξῆρε* pro *ἐξῆρεν*. — 25. *ἐξῆρε* pro *ἐξῆρεν*. — 26. *ἔστιν* pro *ἔσται*. — [Fol. 100, verso.] 29. *εὑρίσκωμεν* pro *εὑρίσκομεν*. — 30. *χαναναίαν* pro *χανανέαν*. *ὦ* om. *λέγοντας* pro *λέγοντα*. — 31. *βεβαιώτερον* pro *βεβαιότερον*. — 32. *σὺ* pro *σοί*. *ἰησοῦ* suppl. corr. ante *υἱὲ*. *ἔκραζον* $\overline{\theta ς}$ om. *ὁ* add. ante $\overline{υς}$. — 34. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 35. *τῶ* add. ante *νόμῳ*. *καὶ προφήταις* add. post *νόμῳ* cum V. mg. — 36. *τὸ* pro *τῷ*. — 37. *σου* pro *μου*. — 38. *τὸ* om. — 39. *εὐσεβείας* pro *εὐσεβίας*. — 41. *ἔκρινε* pro *ἔκρινεν*. *ἔστιν* pro *ἐς τὴν*. *εἰλημμένος* pro *εἰλημένος*. — 42. [*ὀσφὺν* . . . P. 88, 23 *περὶ*] amissis in lacuna cum fol. 1 (fol. 100, verso, expl. *καὶ δικαιοσύνην τὴν*; fol. 101, recto, inc. *τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ*).

P. 88, 23. [Fol. 101, recto.] *οὕτως γὰρ λέγει* om. *ἀναγγείλαμεν* pro *ἀνηγγείλαμεν*. — 24. *πεδίω* pro *παιδίον*. *ἴδομεν* pro *ἴδαμεν*. — 26. *ἀπέστρεπται* pro *ἀπέστραπται*. — 28. *κείροντος* pro *κήραντος*. — 31. *ἐποίησε* pro *ἐποίησεν*. — 33. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *ἐστὶ* pro *ἐστιν*. — 36. *ἐρράντισε* pro *ἐράντισεν* [Fol. 101, verso.] *ἐρράντισεν* pro *ἐράντισεν*. — 37. *ἡμῶν* om. *ὑμᾶς* pro *ἡμᾶς*. — 39. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *κύριος* pro $\overline{θς}$. *ἐγκατελίπατε* pro *ἐγκατελείπατε*.

P. 89, 1. *αὐτῶν* pro *αὐτοῦ*. — 2. *αὐτοὺς* pro *αὐτῶν*. — 4. *αὐτοῖς* pro *αὐτῶν*. *δὲ* om. — [Fol. 102, recto.] 7. *βαλείμ* pro *βαλίμ*. — 9. *οὐ* pro *ὁ*. — 12. *τῶ* pro *τὸ*. *λαός μου* add. ante *ὑμεῖς*. — 13. *ἐγκαταλιπόντων* pro *ἐγκαταλελοιπότων*. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 14. *λέγων* om. *παρώργησαν* pro *παρώργισαν*. — 15. *ἔθνη* pro *ἔθνει*[1]. *ἔθνει*[2] corr. *παρωργιῶ* pro *παροργιῶ*. — 16. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *παρήγγειλε* pro *παρήγγειλεν*. — 17. *ἔθνεσι* pro *ἔθνεσιν*. — 18. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 19. *ἀπειθείας* pro *ἀπειθίας*. — [Fol. 102, verso.] 21. *τέσσαρις* pro *τέσσαρας*.

τῆς γῆς pro *τοῦ οὐνου*. — 22. *τοῦτο* pro *τοῦ*[*το*]. — 24. *αὐτῶν* add. ante *ἐπιστροφὴν*. — 25. *αὐτῷ* om., suppl. man. prim. — 27. *ἠσθίετε* pro *ἐσθίετε*. *ἐπίνετε* pro *πίνετε*. — 29. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *διασαφηνῆσαι* pro *διασαφηνίσαι*. — 33. *γεναμένας* pro *γεγραμμένας*, cum V. — [Fol. 103, recto.] 34. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 36. *ἔργον*[2] om. — 39. *ὀνόμασας* pro *ὠνόμασας*. *ἐτῶ*[1] om. *ἐν τῷ* pro *ἐτῶ*[2].

P. 90, 1. *ἀκριβῶς* om. — 3. *τε* pro *περ**. *διαστρέψας καὶ κακῶς ἑρμηνεύσας* add. post *αὐτῷ*. — 4. *αὐτοῦ* add. post *ζωῆς*. — 5. *παραλίψωμεν* pro *παραλείψωμεν*. *καὶ* add. ante *τὴν*. *ἑβδομήκοντα δύο* pro $\overline{οβ}$. — 6. *ἀκύλα* pro *ἀκύλαν*. — [Fol. 103, verso.] 7. *διεῖλε* pro *διεῖλεν*. — 8. *τέσσαρσι* pro *τέσσαρσιν*. — 9. *ὠκοδόμησε* pro *ᾠκοδόμησεν*. — 13. *ἐπερώτησεν* pro *ἐρωτᾷ*. — 14. *συνηγάγωμεν* pro *συνηγάγομεν*. *εἰσὶ* pro *εἰσὶν*. — 15. *αὐτὸν* pro *αὐτῷ*. — 16. *εἰσὶ* pro *εἰσιν*. — 18. *τὸν* add. ante *ἐν*. — 19. *ἐγκύψας* pro *ἐκκύψας*. — [Fol. 104, recto.] 25. *ταύτας* pro *πάντας*. *ἢ* pro *οὗ*. *ἐγενήθηται* pro *ἐγενήθη*. *αἰχμάλωτοι* pro *αἰχμαλωσία* (cf. V). — 26. *εὗρον* pro *ηὗρον*. — 28. *λέγω* pro *λέγων*. — 32. *χρυσαίοις* pro *χρυσέοις*. — [Fol. 104, verso.] 34. *γράμμασι* pro *γράμμασιν*. — 37. *βιβλία* add. post *ἀποστα-λέντα*. — 39. *ἑρμηνεύσωσιν* pro *ἑρμηνεύσουσιν*. — 40. *ἀπεστάλεισαν* pro *ἀπεστάλησαν*. *ἑβδομηκονταδύο* pro $\overline{οβ}$. *ἓξ* pro *ϛ*.

P. 91, 1. *οἶκω* add. post *ἑκάστῳ*. *ἑκάστην* om. *ἔασεν* pro *εἴασεν*. — 3. *δω*[*μάτων . . . 30 σημεῖα*] amissis in lacuna cum fol. 1 (fol. 104, verso, expl. *ἐκ τῶν δω*; fol. 105, recto, inc. *ποιοῦντα τὸν κύριον*). — 30. [Fol. 105, recto.] *τὸν* add. ante $\overline{κν}$. *τὸν* $\overline{θν}$ om. — 31. *καὶ* add. post *ὡς*. — 33. *ἔξεστίν* pro *ἔστιν*. — 35. *αὐτὸν* pro [*αὐτὸν*]. — 38. *ἀναθεματήσας* pro *ἀναθεματίσας*. — 40. *ἔκδωσιν* pro *ἔκδοσιν*. — 41. *κακεῖ* pro *ἐκεῖ*. *ἠφάνησεν* pro *ἠφάνισεν*. — 42. *κεκαλυμμένως* pro *ἐπικεκαλυμ-μένως*.

P. 92, 1. [Fol. 105, verso.] *ἑβδομηκονταδύο* pro $\overline{οβ}$. *ἡρμή-νευσαν* pro *ἑρμήνευσαν*. — 3. *μετεσχηκέναι* pro *μετασχηκέναι*. *τριακοντα ἓξ* pro $\overline{λς}$. — 4. *ἐν αὐτοῖς* pro *ἑαυτοῖς*. *ὁμοφώνως* pro *ὁμοφρόνως*. — 5. *δέχη* pro *δέχει*. *ἑβδομηκονταδύο* pro $\overline{οβ}$. *λαλήσαντας* pro *λαλοῦντας*. — 7. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *ἑβδομηκοντα-δύο* pro $\overline{οβ}$. — 9. *θεὸς* pro $\overline{ις}$. — 10. *τὴν* pro *τῇ*. — 14. *ἐλπιοῦσι* pro *ἐλπιοῦσιν*. — 15. [Fol. 106, recto.] *του*[2] om. *τοῦ* add.

ante κϋ. — 17. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 18. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 19. *εἶδον* pro *ἴδον*. — 24. *ἐγκατελίπατε* pro *ἐγκατελείπατε*. *τὸν*[1] om. *παρωργήσατε* pro *παρωργίσατε*. — 25. *ἐγκατέλιπεν* pro *ἐγκατέλειπεν*. *ἡμῖν* pro *ὑμῖν*. *ὁμοιώθημεν* pro *ὡμοιώθημεν*. — 26. κϛ om. — 27. *λέγει αὐτὸς κύριος εἰς κρίσιν ἥξει μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων* add. ante *αὐτῶν*. — 29. *λέγεις* pro *λέγῃς*. *ταῦτα*[2] om. — [Fol. 106, verso.] 30. *ἐζήτησε* pro *ἐζήτησεν*. *ἔκρινε* pro *ἔκρινεν*. — 31. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *τὸ* om. — *λεπτομερῶς* pro *λεπτομερὲς*. — 32. *ἔκρινε* pro *ἔκρινεν*. *εἰ* pro *ἦ*. — 33. *κατακρίναντα* pro *κατακρίνοντα*. — 36. *ἐπὶ* pro *ἔστιν*. — 37. *σε* pro *σοι*[1]. *παρηνόχλησά* pro *παρενόχλησά*. — 38. *καλαμοῦνται* pro *καλαμῶνται*. *μακαρίζοντες* pro *μακαρι⟨ζον⟩τες*. *ὑμᾶς* pro *ὑμῶν*[2]. — 39. *ἐνεπρήσατε* pro *ἐνεπυρίσατέ*. *τε* om. — 40. *ἀδικῆτε* pro *ἀδικεῖτε*. — 41. *ἔδωκε* pro *ἔδωκεν*.

P. 93, 5. [Fol. 107, recto.] *μινίσκους* pro *μηνίσκους*. — 6. *ψελλία* pro *ψέλια*. — 8. *λακονικά* pro *λακωνικά*. — 9. *κλιτά* pro [*κατά*]*κλιτα*. *ἡδέας* pro *ἡδείας*. — 12. *καταλιφθήση* pro *καταλειφθήσει*. — 13. *ἔδωκε* pro *ἔδωκεν*. — 16. *ὑπὸ* pro *ἐπὶ*. — 21. *καὶ* add. ante *προλήνιον*. *ἐν*[2] om., suppl. man. prim. — 22. *ἡ* om. *νῦν* add. ante *ἄνος*. — 23. *ἀνὰ μέσον*[2] om. — 26. *οὐδ οὐ* pro *οὐδὲ*. — 27. *ἐπ'* pro *εἰς*[1]. *ἄκανθες* pro *ἀκάνθους*. *καὶ* add. ante *ταῖς*. — 28. *ἐστι* pro *ἐστιν*. *ἠ[γαπημένον . . .* P. 94, 15, *τάδε*] amissis in lacuna cum fol. 1 (fol. 107, verso, expl. *νεόφυτον ἡ*; fol. 108, recto, inc. *λέγει κύριος σαβαώθ*).

P. 94, 17. [Fol. 108, recto.] *καθαρόν* pro *καθαράν*. — 19. *τὸ* add. ante *ἀπ'*. — 22. *αὐτῆς* pro *αὐτοὺς*. — 24. *ἐπιλάθομαι* pro *ἐπιλάθωμαι*. — 25. *ἐπιλησθείη* pro *ἐπιλησθῇ*. — 26. *ἐγκατέλιπεν* pro *ἐγκατέλειπεν*. *ὁ*[1] om. — 28. *εὐσπλαγχνίσθη* pro *ἐσπλαγχνίσθη*. — 29. *ἐγκαταλελιμμένη* pro *ἐγκαταλελειμμένη*. — 30. *ἔγγονα* pro *ἔγγεια*. — 31. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 32. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *ἱκετεύη* pro *ἱκετεύει*. *ἐλάβωσαν* pro *ἐλάβοσαν*. — 33. *διήγαγον* pro *διήγαν*. *ἔπλησε* pro *ἔπλησεν*. — 34. *ὤμοσε* pro *ὤμοσεν*. — 35. *καθηρέθης* pro *καθηρέθη*. *οἰκοδομηθήση* pro *οἰκοδομηθήσει*. — 36. *ἐνδύση* pro *ἐνδύσει*. *περιθήση* pro *περιθήσει*. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 37. *ἐγὼ* om. — 39. *στενοχωρίσαι* pro *στενοχωρήσει*. — [Fol. 109, recto.] 40. *καταβαίνοντές* pro *καταπίνοντές*. *οἱ* add. ante *υἱοί*.

XUM

P. 95, 1. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *νήσου* pro *νήσους*. — 2. *σύσσειμον* pro *σύσσημον*. *ἀροῦσι* pro *ἀροῦσιν*. — 3. *καὶ ἄρχουσαι τροφοί σου* add. post *σου*. *υἱοί σου* add. post *σοί*. — 4. *γνώση* pro *γνώσει*. — 6. *εἰσίν* pro *εἰς ἦν* cum V. — 11. *ἀπόστησα* pro *ἀπέστησα*. *παρέδωκεν* pro *παραδώσας*. *χεῖρας* pro *χεῖρα*. *σενναχιρὴμ* pro *σενναχαρὶν*. *ναχορδὰ* pro *ἀναχορδὰ* [Fol. 109, verso.] *βασιλέως* pro *βασιλέα*. — 14. *διαμαρτύρομαί* pro *διαμαρτυροῦμαί*. *μου* add. post *ἀκούσῃς*. — 19. *τὸ* pro *τοῦ*[1]. — 21. *γνώση* pro *γνώσει*. — 24. *λύ*[*πῃ* . . . P. 96, 8, *ἀνάγ*]*γειλόν* amissis in lacuna cum fol. 1 (fol. 109, verso, expl. *ἐν λύ*; fol. 110, recto, inc. *γειλόν μοι*).

P. 96, 11. [Fol. 110, recto.] *κατηρτισμένον* pro *κατηρτισμένην*. *μήτιγε* pro *μήτοιγε*. — 12. *ἐποίησε* pro *ἐποίησεν*. *τῶν* om. *δείξεις* pro *δείξῃς*. — 13. *ἔστω* pro *ἔσται*. *τοῦ*[2] om. — 15. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 16. *εὑρησιλογίας* pro *εὑρεσιλογίας*. — 17. *ὀγδοηκοστῷ ὀγδόῳ* pro $\overline{\pi\eta}$. — 23. *πληρῶσαι* pro *πληρώσει*. — 24. *ἐξομολογήσομαι* pro *ἐξομολογήσονται*. — 25. *ἔθνεσι* pro *ἔθνεσιν*. — 26. *ἐν* add. ante *τῷ*. — 29. *προσετάγει* pro *προσεπάγει*. — 31. *ἔδωκε* pro *ἔδωκεν*. *τὸ* pro *τῷ*. — 32. *ἔδωκε* pro *ἔδωκεν*. *καὶ* add. ante *ἐζητήσαμεν*. *ὤμοσε* pro *ὤμοσεν*. — 33. *ἔθηκε* pro *ἔθηκεν*[2]. — 34. *βασιλεῦσι* pro *βασιλεῦσιν*. — 36. *ἐκάλεσε* pro *ἐκάλεσεν*. *τοῦ*[1] om. — 37. *ὃν καὶ* add. ante *ἔδωκεν*. *ἔδωκε* pro *ἔδωκεν*. *ναζωραῖον* pro *ναζοραῖον*. *ἐστι* pro *ἐστιν*. — 39. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 40. *πρώην εἴπαμεν* pro *προείπαμεν*. *μαρτυρήση* pro *μαρτυρήσει*. — 42. *ἐξεῦρεν* pro *ἐξηῦρεν*.

P. 97, 2. *τῷ* om. — 4. *ἐμπορείαι* pro *ἐμπορίαι*. — 5. *σαβὴν* pro *σαβαὶν*. — 6. *προσκυνήσουσι* pro *προσκυνήσουσιν*. *ἐστι* add. ante $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$. — 7. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 8. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *αὐτή* om. *ἀκολουθεῖσαι* pro *ἀκολουθῆσαι*. *αὐτῇ* pro *αὐτὴν*. — 10. *νόμοις* pro *νομίμοις*. — 11. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *νόμοις* pro *νομίμοις*. — 12. *μωϋσέως* pro *μωσέως*. — 13. *παρέδωκε* pro *παρέδωκεν*. *μωαβητῶν* pro *μωαβιτῶν*. — 15. *ἄδικος* pro *ἀδίκως*. *ὅτι* add. ante *ταῦτα*. — 19. *ὁ χριστιανός* om. — 21. tr. *δουλεύσουσιν αὐτῷ*. — 22. *παρασαλεύσεται* pro *παρελεύσεται*. — [Fol. 112, recto.] 24. *ἥξουσι* pro *ἥξουσιν*. *κυρίου* pro $\overline{\kappa\varepsilon}$. *δοξάσωσι* pro *δοξάσουσιν*. — 25. *θαυμάσια* pro *θαυμαστά*. *ὁ* om. — 26. *ἥξουσιν* pro *ἥξουσι*. — 32. $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ om. — 33. *ποιῆς*

pro ποιεῖς. ἦν pro ἧς. ὠκοδόμησε pro ᾠκοδόμησεν. — 35. τῶ pro τὸ. — 37. ἐξεπόρνευσεν pro ἐκπεπόρνευκεν. — [Fol. 112, verso.] 38. ἐμοὶ pro ἐμοῦ. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 39. τὸν pro τὸ. καθήκη pro καθήκει. — 41. ἀναφράσσω pro ἀναφράττω.

P. 98, 1. σκώλοψιν pro σκόλοψιν. — 4. ἐν δὲ pro ἐμοὶ. — 5. καὶ add. ante τὸν[3]. — 6. μνίσκους pro μηνίσκους. — 7. ψέλλια pro ψέλια. — 8. ἐπίβλητα pro ἐπιβλή⟨ματα⟩ τὰ. — [Fol. 113, recto.] 9. λακονικὰ pro λακωνικά. τὰ add. ante κόκκινα. — 10. βύσσῳ pro βύσσον. θέριστα pro θέριστρα. κλιτά pro κλητά. ἔδωκε pro δοὺς. — 11. ἡδέας pro ἡδείας. — 12. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 13. καταλιφθῆναι pro καταλειφθῆναι. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. ἐγκαταλιφθήσεται pro ἐγκαταλειφθήσεται. — 14. συκηράτω pro σικυηράτῳ. — 15. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. ἄγρωστις pro ἀγρός τις. — 16. λέγει pro εἶπε. — 18. γέννησίς pro γένεσίς. γετταῖος pro χετταῖος. — 19. ὀρθώθησαν pro ὠρθώθησαν. — 21. ἀπὸ pro ἐπὶ. — [Fol. 113, verso.] διήλθωσαν pro διήλθοσαν. ἀντιπαρήλθωσάν pro ἀντιπαρήλθοσάν. — 23. tr. σε ἐπὶ. ἤλειψά pro ἤλιψά. — 25. ἄσκηστρον pro ἄγκιστρον. εἰς τοὺς μυκτήρας pro ἐν τοῖς μυκτῆρσι. — 26. σεμήδαλιν pro σεμίδαλιν. ἐψώμησά pro ἐψώμισά. — 27. γενήση pro γενήσει. ἐγκατέλιπάς pro ἐγκατέλειπάς. — 28. ἐπελάθου pro ἐπιλάθου. — 32. ἔσπεισας pro ἔπισας. — [Fol. 114, recto.] 34. tr. κύριος ἀδωναΐ. — 36. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 37. ταῦτα pro τὰ. ὁ βασιλεὺς pro ἐβασίλευσεν. — 38. ἐρημομένην pro ἐρημωμένην. κατεστρεμμένην pro κατεστραμμένην. — 39. μαχαίρα pro μαχαίρῃ. — 41. ἐν pro εἰς. καὶ τέλεον pro εἰς τινὰ τέλειον· καὶ. ἀνατέσσαρις pro ἀνὰ τεσσάρεις.

P. 99, 1. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. — 2. εἶπεν pro εἶπε. πάντα pro πάντες. — 3. περὶ om. εἶπεν pro εἶπε bis [Fol. 114, verso.] περὶ ταύτης pro ταύτην. — 11. σου pro τοῦ. ἤκασι pro ἤκασιν. — 12. ἐκστήση pro ἐκστήσει. κς om. — 13. ἤξουσί pro ἤξουσίν. μαδιὰμ pro μαδιὰν. ναβεώθ pro ναβαιώθ. — 14. καὶ add. ante πάντες. ἀνεχθήσεται pro ἀνενεχθήσεται. — 15. δεκτὰ pro δὲ τὰ. — 16. κυ om. man. prim., suppl. corr. — [Fol. 115, recto.] 19. βασιλέως pro βασιλέων. — 20. αὐτῶ pro αὐτῶν. τῷ om. — 22. μήτραν pro μίτραν. — 24. ἐξέλθοι pro ἐξέλθῃ. — 26. καλέση pro καλέσει. — 28. περὶ add. ante τοῦ. μετονομάσθη pro μετωνομάσθη. — [Fol. 115, verso.] 31. γὰρ pro

δὲ. *ἐγκαταλελιπόντες* pro *ἐγκαταλελοιπότες*. *ἐπιλαθόμενοι* pro *ἐπιλανθανόμενοι*. — 32. *κερνῶντες* pro *κερνοῦντες*. *ψυχῇ* pro *τύχῃ*. — 33. *μαχαίρα* pro *μαχαίρας*. *μετογα* pro *μετ' ὀλίγα*. *δουλεύσαντές* pro *δουλεύοντές*. — 34. *πεινάσεσθε* corr. — 36. *κεκράξεσθε* pro *κεκράξασθε*. *καταλίψατε* pro *καταλείψατε*. — 38. *εὐλογήσουσι* pro *εὐλογήσουσιν*. — 40. *ἔγγονα* pro *ἔκγονα* cum V. — 41. *τῶ* add. ante *ἐξ*. — [Fol. 116, recto.] 42. *ἐπίχαρμα* pro *ἐπιχαρμὸν*.

P. 100, 3. *ἐνιαυτὸν* pro *ἐνιαυτὸς*. — 4. *ὄψονται* pro *κόψονται*. — 7. *ἰδοὺ γὰρ βλέπωμεν πάντα γεγενημένα* add. post *κακά* fere cum V mg. — 8. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *ὀνομάσθη* pro *ὠνομάσθη*. — 9. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *ὀνομάσθη* pro *ὠνομάσθη*. — 10. *πράξεσι* pro *πράξεσιν*. — 11. [*τοὺς*] om. — 12. *ὀνόμασεν* pro *ὠνόμασεν*. — [Fol. 116, verso.] 14. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *ἤδεισαν* pro *εἴδησαν*. — 15. *πάντως* pro *πάντα*. — 17. *καὶ* add. ante *θανάτῳ*. — 18. *ἐπροφήτευσεν* pro *ἐπροφήτευσας*. *αὐτῶν* pro *αὐτοῦ*. — 22. *ἐπαχύνθη* pro *ἐπαχνώθη*. — 23. *αὐτῶν* add. post *ὠσὶν*. — 25. *τῷ* om. — [Fol. 117, recto.] 26. *καὶ*[1] om. — 27. *ηὐδόκησε* pro *ηὐδόκησεν*. — 30. *περὶ* add. ante *τῶν*. — 32. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 33. *πεποθόντα* pro *πεπονθότα*. *προεγίνωσκε* pro *προεγίνωσκεν*. — 35. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 36. *κρίμα* pro *κρίσιν*. — 39. *ἐν* add. ante *μεσημβρίᾳ*. — 40. *ἐσπέρας* pro *ἐσπέρα*.

P. 101, 2. [Fol. 117, verso.] *μνήματα* pro *μνημεῖα*. *ἀνεώχθησαν* pro *ἠνεῴχθησαν*. *εἰσῆλθον* pro *εἰσῆλθαν*. — 3. *ἠρώτουν* pro *ἐρώτων*. — 4. *οὐκ εἰ* pro *οὐκοῦν*. *φησίν*[2] om. — 5. *ἔλεγον* pro *ἔλεγεν*. — 8. *ἑαυτον* pro *αὐτὸν*[2]. *καὶ* add. ante $\overline{\text{υν}}$. — 9. *εἶπον* pro *εἶπαν*. *θεὸς* pro $\overline{\text{κς}}$. *καὶ* add. ante $\overline{\text{υς}}$. — 10. tr. *τότε ὅτι τέθνηκεν*. — 11. *ἑαυτῶ* pro *αὐτῷ*. — 12. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *δίδως* pro *δίδου*. — [Fol. 118, recto.] 14. *εἰ* pro ⟨*εἰ*⟩. — 15. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *κατῆλθεν* pro *κατελθών*. — 16. *ἐποίησε* pro *ἐποίησεν*. — 17. *ἀπέστειλε* pro *ἀπέστειλεν*. — 18. *διαφθορῶν* pro *διαφ⟨θ⟩ορῶν*. *συνέτριψε* pro *συνέτριψεν*. — 19. *πρέσβης* pro *πρέσβυς*. — 20. *ὁ* add. ante *αὐτὸς*. — 23. tr. *καὶ κύριος*. *μωτώσει* pro *μοτώσει*. — 24. *προειδὼν* pro *προιδὼν*. — 26. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 27. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. [Fol. 118, verso.] *ταῖς* pro *τὰς*. — 28. *τῆ* pro *ἡ*. *γὰρ* add. post *ἀκούσαντες*. — 35. *ἴδον* pro *ἴδαν*. *γινόμενα* pro *γενόμενα*. — 36. *ἀπὸ τῶν* pro *ἐκ*. *τῶ τοιούτω* pro *τούτοις*. — 37. *οἱ* add. ante *φυλάξαντες*.

P. 102, 1. *ὀνείδησεν* pro *ὠνείδησεν*. — 2. *ὁ* om. [Fol. 119, recto.] *ἁγίας* om. — 4. *ἐκεῖ* om. — 5. *ἔλεον* pro *ἔλθον*. *ἐγκατέλιπον* pro *ἐγκατέλειπον*. — 9. *καὶ*[1] om. — 10. *ῥώωνος* pro *ῥοῶνος*. *ὡς*[2] om. *κοπτομένων* pro *ἐκκοπτομένῳ*. — 11. *δᾶν* pro *δᾶδ*. *συμεὼν* pro *νάθαν*. — 13. *φύλη . . . ἑαυτάς* om. — 15. tr. *μὴ γένοιτο εἶπα τί*. — [Fol. 119, verso.] — 16. *τοῦ* om. — 17. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *δείξης* pro *δείξεις*. — 22. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — 26. *φρονήσατε* pro *φρονήσετε*. — 27. *οὐχὶ* add. ante *κατανοεῖ*. *ἐλέγξει* pro *ἐλέγξεις*. — 28. *εἰσὶ* pro *εἰσὶν*. — 31. *οὖν* pro *οὐ*. *ἰησοῦν* pro $\overline{κν}$. — 32. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. — [Fol. 120, recto.] — 33. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *εὔκολον* pro *εὔκοπον*. — 35. *εἶπεν* pro *εἶπε*. *πάντα* om. *κατὰ ἀλήθειαν* pro *κατ' ἀλήθειαν*. — 36. *ὁ* add. ante *νυστάζοντι*. *οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν ἡ τὸν ἀέρα λόγων ἐπλήρωσεν* add. post *διηγούμενος*. *ὃ καὶ ἡμεῖς πεπόνθαμεν* pro *ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἠκούσαμεν τὸ τί ἐστιν*. — 37. *ἀλλ'* add. ante *ὅμως*. *γὰρ* om. *ὁ* add. ante $\overline{κς}$. *τὸ* om. — 38. *εἰκοστῷ πρώτῳ* pro $\overline{κα}$. — 39. *καὶ*[2] om. — 40. *βλέπωμεν* pro *βλέπομεν*. *ἐφῆδον* pro *ἔφιδαν*.

P. 103, 1. *διεμερήσαντο* pro *διεμερίσαντο*. *αὐτοῦ* pro *μου*. *οἱ στρατιῶται βάλλοντες κλῆρον* pro *ἑαυτοῖς . . . κλήρους*. — [Fol. 120, verso.] — 3. *βλέπωμεν* pro *βλέπομεν*. *πάντα* add. post *αὐτὰ*. — 6. *εὑρέθη* pro *ἐρρέθη*. — 7. *ἐγκατέλιπάς* pro *ἐγκατέλειπάς*. *ἐλοὶ ἐλοὶ* pro *ἐλοεῖ ἐλοεῖ*. — 8. *λιμασαβαχθανί* pro *λεμασαβαχθανί*. *ἵνατί* pro *εἰς τί*. *ἐγκατέλιπας* pro *ἐγκατέλειπας*. — 9. *πληρωφορηθέντα* pro *πληρωθέντα*. *πάντα* add. post *ταῦτα*. — 11. *ἐπηγγείλω* pro *ἐπηγγείλου*. — 13. *κοπιούμεθα* pro *κοπιῶμεν*. — 15. *ἐναρίθμιον* pro *ἐναρίθμει ὄν*. — 16. *αὐτὸς* pro *αὐτοῖς*. *ἢ* pro *εἰ*. — [Fol. 121, recto.] — 19. tr. *ἐρωτᾶς νῦν*. — 20. *εἶδεν* pro *ἴδεν*. — 21. *τέσσαρις* pro *τέσσαρες*. — 23. *ὡς* pro *ὡσεὶ*. — 24. *ἐξετάλησαν* pro *ἐξετίλη*. — 26. *αὐτῆς* add. post *στόματι*. — 30. *ἐσθίον* pro *ἐσθίων*. — 31. *τὰ* add. ante *ἔμπροσθεν*. — 32. *δέκα* pro *ῑ*. — 33. *κέρατα* pro *κέρα*. *αὐτῶν* pro *αὐτοῦ*. — 36. *πρόσχε* pro *πρόσεχε*. — 41. *ἐκεῖνο* pro *ἐκείνων*. — 42. *σῶμα* pro *στόμα*. *ἐδώθη* pro *ἐδόθη*.

P. 104, 1. [*τῆς . . .* 29 *ἰε*]*ρων καὶ διακόνων* amissis in lacuna cum fol. 1 (fol. 121, verso, expl. *ἐν ὁράματι*; fol. 122, recto, inc. *ρων καὶ διακόνων*). — 29. [*ἰε*]*ρων* pro *ἱερέων*. — 30. *ἐποίη-*

σεν pro ἐποίησαν. πᾶσαν add. ante τὴν. — 31. ἐβάπτισεν pro ἐβάπτισαν. μετὀνομάσας pro μετονομάσαντες. — 33. χάριτι pro διὰ τοῦ. — 34. αὐτοῦ om. — 35. τιμὴ καὶ δόξα pro δόξα, τιμή. κράτος . . . ἀεὶ καὶ om. — 36. Ἀμήν om.

The Oxyrhynchus Sayings of Jesus in Relation to the Gospel-making Movement of the First and Second Centuries[1]

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THROUGH the skilful labors of Drs. Grenfell and Hunt, excavators for the Egypt Exploration Fund, we have recently come into possession of three short portions of extra-canonical second-century gospels.[2] The first portion, consisting of eight Sayings of Jesus, was found in 1897; the second portion, consisting of an introduction and five Sayings of Jesus, was found in 1903; and the third portion, consisting of several Sayings on different bits of papyrus, was also found in 1903. We may designate the three portions as the first, second, and third series, respectively.[3] All three portions were unearthed at Oxyrhynchus, one of the chief centres of early Christianity in Egypt, one hundred and twenty miles south of Cairo. The fragments of papyrus upon which these sayings are preserved were discovered in conjunction with a very large collection of Greek papyri dating from the first to the seventh century of our era.

The first series of Sayings is written upon a leaf of a papyrus book. The verso of the leaf is numbered 11, showing

[1] Read at the International Congress of Arts and Sciences, St. Louis, Mo., September, 1904.

[2] Reproduced in facsimile, with conjectural restorations and discussion, in Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Parts I (1897) and IV (1903); also in a popular edition, *New Sayings of Jesus, and Fragment of a Lost Gospel*, New York, 1904.

[3] This notation, based on the chronological order of the discovery of the Sayings, is preferable to that adopted by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt in the *editio princeps* of the Sayings found in 1903, where those found in 1897 are called the *second* series.

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that the Sayings belonged to a collection from which this leaf has become separated. The leaf is written on both sides, three Sayings on the verso, one Saying divided between the two sides,[4] and four on the recto. The text is in an excellent state of preservation, so that little conjecture was necessary to restore it, except in the case of the fourth Saying, which is almost entirely illegible. The second series is written upon a fragment of papyrus which has been severed from some portion of a papyrus roll. The writing is in a single column on the back of the paper, the face of the paper containing a portion of a surveyor's record. The fragment containing these Sayings is torn or broken along the middle of the text-column, so that the right-hand half of the lines is entirely gone. The text of the left half of the column is in good preservation except at the bottom, where much of the fifth Saying is destroyed at the beginning as well as at the end of the lines. The third series is contained in eight fragments of a papyrus roll; only three of the fragments contain enough text to make restoration possible.

The palæographical data of these manuscript fragments show that they were written about the middle of the third century A.D. The letters are of the good, medium-sized uncial form belonging to the third century; the character of the writing shows that the manuscripts were carefully and expensively prepared for general use.

The Oxyrhynchus Sayings are in part parallel to the sayings of Jesus preserved in the canonical gospels, somewhat more than one-half of the new material duplicating what is contained there, but in form these passages exhibit considerable differences from the canonical accounts and not a small degree of independence. The parallels cover sayings in all four of the canonical gospels, indicating that such material as the latter contain was in general circulation at the time the Oxyrhynchus documents arose, but also that there was no fixed and exclusive form of these memorabilia of Jesus.

[4] If Grenfell and Hunt's division of the verses is correct. This, however, is very uncertain; many scholars prefer to treat their "fourth" Saying as a portion of the third, making but seven Sayings in the first series.

There are also in the three series some very important Sayings which the canonical gospels do not contain. Several of these have parallels in extra-canonical gospel sayings quoted by the Church Fathers of the second and third centuries; a few have no parallels in any Christian literature. The interpretation of these rarer Sayings is perplexing. A thorough discussion by many scholars has already been given to the Sayings of the first series, which have been under consideration for seven years.[5] Those of the second and third series have only recently been made public,[6] and have still to receive thorough discussion.[7] The chief problems of their interpretation, however, have been studied in connection with the first series. A consensus of opinion has been reached that the Sayings of 1897 do not show any doctrinal bias in the interest of or in opposition to any of the great controversies of the second and third Christian centuries. This means that they were traditional rather than manufactured for particular purposes. There is no sufficient ground for denying them a first-century origin. The same is true of the Sayings of 1903.

[5] See especially Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part I, and ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ: *Sayings of our Lord*, London, 1897; Lock and Sanday, *Two Lectures on the "Sayings of Jesus,"* Oxford, 1897; Swete, "The Oxyrhynchus Fragment," in *Expository Times*, September, 1897; Harnack, *Ueber die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu*, translated in *Expositor*, November and December, 1897; Zahn, "Die jüngst gefundenen Aussprüche Jesu," in *Theol. Literaturblatt*, September 3 and 10, 1897; M. R. James, "The New Sayings of Christ," and J. Rendel Harris, "The Logia and the Gospels," in *Contemporary Review*, August, September, 1897; Batiffol, "Les Logia du Papyrus de Behnesa," in *Revue Biblique*, October, 1897; E. A. Abbott, "The Logia of Behnesa," in *American Journal of Theology*, January, 1898.

[6] The first publication of the Sayings discovered in 1903 was delayed until June, 1904.

[7] See the two editions by Grenfell and Hunt (titles in footnote[5] above); article, "New Sayings of Jesus," in *Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1904; Swete, "The New Oxyrhynchus Sayings," in *Expository Times*, August, 1904; Batiffol, "Nouveaux fragments évangéliques de Behnesa," in *Revue Biblique*, 1904; Hilgenfeld, "Neue Logia Jesu," in *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theologie*, 1904; V. Bartlet, "The Oxyrhynchus Sayings of Jesus," in *Contemporary Review*, January, 1905; Heinrici, "Die neuen Herrensprüche," in *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, January, 1905; Lake, "The New Sayings of Jesus and the Synoptic Problem," in *Hibbert Journal*, January, 1905.

But are they to be attributed to Jesus himself? With regard to the major portion of the Sayings in the three series there is certainly no reason for questioning their substantial authenticity, since they are also found in the canonical gospels and in both places bear the marks of genuineness. It is only with regard to the minor portion of the Sayings, those which have no canonical parallels, that the question is problematic, and these must be considered individually, each upon its own merits.[8] Some have support in the extra-canonical Christian literature, others do not. Some have more evident marks of authenticity than others.

The external evidence for these Sayings, which cannot alone establish their authenticity, is rather favorable than adverse; but the final decision rests with their intrinsic probability. Here different interpreters have taken and will take different views. A Saying which seems to one interpreter to be in accordance with the point of view, the spirit, the teaching, and the manner of Jesus, may seem to another interpreter out of character, so diverse are the present conceptions of Jesus. Further, the meaning of the Sayings is not in all cases certain; some understand them in a sense germane to Jesus, others in a sense which it would be difficult to attrib-

[8] The Saying which has been most variously interpreted is that in I. 5, "Jesus saith, Wherever there are (two), they are not without God, and wherever there is one alone, I say, I am with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me; cleave the wood and there am I" (restoration and translation of Drs. Grenfell and Hunt). The first portion of the Saying has a general parallel in Matt. 18^{20}, and should furnish the clue to the interpretation of the second portion. The thought then will be of the constant presence of Christ everywhere with his disciples, even in their daily toil (so Harnack, Lock, and Sanday). It is scarcely to be understood as an anticipation of the theory of the immanence of God in nature, or as an evidence of animistic conceptions. Swete takes the language allegorically, "Christ is with the disciple who is a builder of Christianity." Barnes also interprets allegorically, making the "stone" refer to the sepulchre, and the "wood" to the cross, of Jesus. James interprets, "You must make an effort if you wish to find me." E. A. Abbott and Schmiedel make the "raising of stones" refer to children of Abraham, and "cleaving the wood" to cutting down the barren tree of Pharisaic conventional law (cf. Matt. 3^{10} Jer. $1^{8\text{-}10}$). Bacon thinks of the ritual of sacrifice, "Prepare an altar, pile up the stone, cleave the wood for fire, and I shall be there in your worship."

ute to him. While, therefore, we cannot expect a complete agreement of scholars, there is good reason to predicate substantial authenticity of all the Oxyrhynchus Sayings.

Of course we find here, as we find abundantly in the canonical gospels, that the primary interest of the first-century Christians was not to preserve the exact form of Jesus' utterances — they were primarily concerned with preserving his ideas, his teachings. They felt themselves free to translate his Aramaic utterances into Greek, and to make such modifications of form and adaptations of meaning as seemed to them most helpful in their practical work. The canonical gospels, in their parallel accounts of Jesus' Sayings, exhibit variations of form which the tradition assumed. We are therefore prepared to find that still other forms of similar utterances appear in these recently discovered Sayings.[9] But that does not militate against their substantial authenticity. It is probably true that the Oxyrhynchus Sayings for which there are no parallels have likewise departed, little or much, from the exact form which Jesus gave them; and it may be that the exact turn of thought or shade of meaning which belonged to the original utterances has not always been perfectly preserved. Still, such departure is not to be alleged so long as it is possible to harmonize these newly found teachings with the Jesus whom we know.

The conclusion from these considerations is that we have in the Oxyrhynchus Sayings portions of one, two, or three second-century gospels. The Sayings obviously belonged to collections[10] of gospel material of considerable extent. The first series occupied leaf 11 of a book; the second series was

[9] Compare, for example, Matt. 13^{57}, ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· οὐκ ἔστιν προφήτης ἄτιμος εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ πατρίδι καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ; Mk. 6^{4}, καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν προφήτης ἄτιμος εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ; Lk. 4^{24}, εἶπεν δέ· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδεὶς προφήτης δεκτός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἑαυτοῦ; *Oxyr. Sayings*, I. 6, λέγει Ἰησοῦς, οὐκ ἔστιν δεκτὸς προφήτης ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἰατρὸς ποιεῖ θεραπείας εἰς τοὺς γινώσκοντας αὐτόν. Similarly, Matt. 10^{26} = Mk. 4^{22} = Lk. 8^{17} 12^{2} = *Oxyr. Sayings*, II. 4.

[10] The term will be used in the plural for convenience, without expressing a fixed judgment as to whether our three series indicate one, two, or three collections.

upon a fragment of a papyrus roll which had been previously used to contain the records of an official land-survey list, and such lists (according to Drs. Grenfell and Hunt) "tend to be of very great length." The nature of the Sayings shows that these particular collections were made early in the first half of the second century. There is a general agreement that they were in existence as early as 140 A.D., and they may have been composed as early as 100 A.D. It is very likely that they were made in Egypt by some of the Christians there, very probably by Jewish Christians, for it was a Jewish idea and custom to construct florilegia of great teachers. The Pirqe Aboth, or "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," is the classical example, containing series of choice sayings of the great rabbis, each saying or group of sayings preceded by the name of its author — "Hillel said," "Shammai said," etc. The collections were really gospels; not mere extracts made for private use, but a body of material used for the same general purpose as the canonical gospels. In extent and literary characteristics, however, they may have differed considerably from the latter.

These 'gospels,' the existence of which is indicated by the Oxyrhynchus Sayings, seem to have arisen without direct relation to the canonical gospels. The form and content of the Sayings show their independence. The authors of these collections probably knew of the canonical gospels, perhaps used them and valued them highly; but they did not feel excluded from gospel-making on their own part, nor did they feel bound, in producing gospels of their own composition, to copy or imitate closely the existing works. These collections, therefore, do not bear testimony to the individual canonical gospels, but merely prove the existence of other gospel material such as these books contain.

Nor do the Oxyrhynchus Sayings appear to have been drawn directly from extra-canonical second-century gospels of which we have any knowledge. Harnack's elaborate arguments to prove that some of the Sayings in the first series were taken directly from the Gospel according to the Egyptians, and the arguments of others in behalf of the

Gospel according to the Hebrews as a source, have failed to carry general conviction. The consensus of opinion is that the Sayings are independent of all other known gospels, even where parallelisms exist. Similarly, those Sayings which have parallels in the patristic literature give evidence of being from independent tradition, and nearer to the original form. In other words, the gospels to which these Oxyrhynchus Sayings belonged were collections of the memorabilia of Jesus, which arose out of the gospel-making movement of the first and second centuries, and were parallel with its other products. They gathered up material from the great stream of transmission of the gospel-story which flowed through the first century and into the first half of the second century.

Whether all three series of the Sayings belonged to different portions of a single collection, so that they represent but one gospel, or whether each series belonged to a distinct gospel, cannot be decided. Acting upon the principle that the hypothesis should not exceed the requirement of the evidence, it might be held that all three series come from a single collection. But the handwriting of the papyrus-fragments which contain the three series shows that they belonged to three different manuscripts, and the third series is not homogeneous in character with the other two. The first two series could easily have belonged to the same collection, and that they did so belong is the general opinion thus far. The third series, however, seems to indicate a collection more in the style of the canonical gospels, without the constant presence of the formula, "Jesus says," and with more of the discourse method of arranging the teachings.

The evidence is entirely against the crude view (sometimes held) that when the second century opened the four canonical gospels held the field exclusively, as though the gospel-making movement of the first century stopped abruptly at 100 A.D. This was certainly not the case. The canonical gospels, at least the first three, entered the second century with great prominence and prestige; they were the finest and most used products of the gospel-making process

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in the first century. But there was still to be a long period through which many other gospels were to compete with them for popular favor. The Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Gospel according to the Egyptians arose not later than the first half of the second century, and were keen rivals of the canonical gospels during the second and third centuries. Late in the second century, some fifty years after the rise of the two extra-canonical gospels just named, the Diatessaron of Tatian came into wide use and high esteem. The canonical gospels, to be sure, in time established themselves as the all-sufficient records of Christ. But the extinction of other gospels was not accomplished for centuries.

In the beginning of the second century, when those gospels arose to which the Oxyrhynchus Sayings belong, the gospel-making movement was still going on. In spite of the fact that the first century had created four preëminent gospels, certain Christians still undertook to make other compilations of the memorabilia of Jesus — not a strange occurrence, for there are always those who prefer to make their own books rather than use the books of others, even though their own are inferior. Besides, these new collections were of a different character from the canonical gospels. Instead of weaving together the sayings and the deeds of Jesus, as had been done in the four New Testament books, the gospels indicated by the Oxyrhynchus Sayings were collections of the *Sayings* of Jesus almost exclusively. Also, in the gospel or gospels of which the first and second series were a part, Jesus' utterances were grouped together apparently without much relation to one another, and each was introduced by the formula, "Jesus says." The introductory verse of the second series of Sayings indicates that the collection was in a literary way connected with the name of Thomas and possibly of other apostles; or perhaps, as Professor Swete thinks,[11] different divisions of the same book were headed by the names of different apostles.

It is interesting to note that a collection of the Sayings

[11] See his article in the *Expository Times*, August, 1904.

of Jesus apart from the events of his life was thus again thought desirable early in the second century. For it was just this kind of a collection of gospel memorabilia which Papias, soon after 100 A.D., reports the apostle Matthew to have made in the middle of the first century. The Logia of which he speaks were in all probability a collection of the Sayings of Jesus; there may have been some narrative material connected with them, but in subordinate relation. The evidence of the synoptic gospels does not permit us to think that these Logia of Matthew were introduced each by the formula "Jesus says"; probably Jesus' utterances were arranged more in the form of discourses, as in the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Luke. What we note is, that the first known attempt to make a considerable collection of the gospel memorabilia was to set forth the sayings of Jesus. We need not therefore be surprised to find the undertaking repeated early in the second century, after the Matthæan Logia had been superseded by the completer kind of gospel.

It is possible that the collections of Jesus' Sayings indicated by the Oxyrhynchus fragments were actually composed in the first century, and indeed before the canonical gospels were made. It is possible that they belonged to that large group of proto-gospels which Luke mentions (Lk. 1[1]), and that they continued to exist from the decade 50–60 A.D. down through the subsequent years of the century when the canonical gospels arose. They would then have striven through a long period for general recognition and use, but would have succeeded in keeping the patronage of only a comparatively small branch of the Christian world.

A more likely hypothesis, however, is that these collections were made in the early second century. They may have taken up some nuclei of proto-gospels or groups of sayings already collected, as was done by the authors of the canonical gospels. But they gathered up their material, not primarily or directly from the canonical gospels, but from the living tradition, oral and written, which was still abundant, as Papias testifies. This tradition was directly descended from the gospel story which the apostles and the first gen-

eration of Christians had put into circulation. Of course, through the vicissitudes of the years, it had undergone well-known variations of arrangement, content, and form, so that, speaking generally, the gospel tradition at the beginning of the second century, because of the lapse of time, followed the original utterances of Jesus less closely than that which had been taken up at an earlier stage into the synoptic gospels. But the characteristics of the Oxyrhynchus Sayings are such as to indicate their direct line of connection with the authentic sayings of Jesus.[12]

The gospel-making movement in the first Christian centuries was more extensive and more complex than is commonly thought. The disciples — even during the public ministry of Jesus, and much more after that ministry had closed — remembered, repeated, taught, and circulated the sayings of Jesus and the events of his life. During the twenty years after the public ministry, the first Christians everywhere used the memorabilia of Jesus as the source of their Christian faith and practice, as the staple element of their instruction, and as the charter of their movement. It resulted that in all the churches the gospel memorabilia were known, valued, and used, and that in the larger, central churches of the first century they were gathered up into considerable collections.

Also, when the gospel was carried out into the gentile world

[12] The view expressed in this paragraph, written in September, 1904, has received independent support in the article by Professor Lake (*Hibbert Journal*, January, 1905), who says: "A collection of sayings similar to the Oxyrhynchus papyri was in existence earlier than our First and Third Gospels, and probably contemporaneously with the Second. . . . It is more probable that the earliest generation of Christians were more anxious 'to remember the words of the Lord Jesus' (Acts 20^{35}) than to picture his doings among the Jews and the facts of his ministry. So far as Jewish circles were concerned, this seems to me almost to be proved by the analogy of the Pirqe 'Abhôth. . . . There we have direct evidence that the Jews were interested in the teaching of the Fathers, but scarcely cared at all for the details of their lives. It seems to me that the new Sayings afford considerable indirect support to the view that behind our Gospels lie two kinds of record, one based on the Jewish plan, which gave Sayings without a complete historical framework, and the other probably due to the desire for more historical information, which certainly must have arisen very soon especially in gentile circles" (pp. 340 f.).

(40–60 A.D.) and came to those who were unacquainted with the Aramaic language, the gospel story was translated into Greek piece by piece, here and there, by various individuals. And the exclusive oral tradition which had preserved the memorabilia of Jesus during the first fifteen or twenty years, was supplemented (not superseded) by written transmission, according to the custom of the gentile world. With this translation into Greek and the writing down of the gospel memorabilia for wide circulation and use in the Roman Empire, came the more advanced stages of gospel-making. The Logia of Matthew, about 50 A.D., was the first formal product of which we have record. It was followed within fifteen years by the Gospel of Mark, and that within another fifteen years by the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Luke. The Gospel of John arose at the end of the first century or early in the second century.

The gospel-making process was a movement, not the exclusive endeavor of a few individuals. To this fact Luke bears conclusive testimony (Lk. 1[1]). Many proto-gospels were produced in this active period of gospel-making, but none of them have come down to us in the form in which Luke knew and spoke of them. The Logia of Matthew was largely taken up into the first and third canonical gospels, and disappeared entirely in its Aramaic, or even in its individual Greek form. A similar fate befell the other proto-gospels. They were either absorbed into the canonical gospels, or failed to perpetuate themselves because of their evident inferiority in arrangement, content, or form to the gospels of Mark, Matthew, and Luke.

But these proto-gospels, inferior as they were, were not at once abandoned. They continued in vogue in certain places and among certain Christians who had compiled them or appreciated them. It is reasonable to think that some of them were in circulation even in the second century. In addition, the gospel-making process continued even after the canonical gospels had come into existence, for other Christians were still ready to try their hands at the collection of the memorabilia of Jesus, especially where this collection

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could be made upon certain lines essentially different from those of the canonical gospels.

We recur, therefore, to the view that it was in the early second century that the gospels arose of which the Oxyrhynchus Sayings formed a part. These collections were in one sense an aftermath; but the authors took up in variant form from the living tradition many of the sayings of Jesus which had been gathered into the already existing gospels, so that the Sayings which have no parallels in the canonical gospels formed the smaller portion of these collections. Because these rare Sayings, which failed of preservation in the canonical gospels, are to us of greater interest than those which have canonical parallels, it does not follow that they were of greater interest than the others to the authors of the original works. The authors and the earliest readers probably counted of greatest value the Sayings for which the canonical gospels have parallels. It may well have been these, rather than the peculiar ones, which most gave the Oxyrhynchus collections vitality and circulation.

The question whether Jesus could have said this or that thing attributed to him in these fragments is one which second-century Christians would scarcely have raised, and could not well have answered. They understood fairly well, and profoundly reverenced, Jesus and his teaching. He was to them of supreme interest and importance. But they did not apply a rigid method of historical investigation to the oral and written tradition of his life.

The canonical gospels increasingly manifested their superiority over all other gospels, from the time of their composition until the latter part of the second century, when they became the only fully recognized evangelic narratives. They early surpassed in favor and use such collections as the Oxyrhynchus Sayings represent, for in the main they were nearer in form to the original utterances of Jesus, better in arrangement, and more complete in their contents. It was right that they should increase in favor and use, and that these other competing gospels should decrease.

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The Triumph of Yahwism

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THE religious situation in Judah and Jerusalem in the closing years of the kingdom is portrayed in the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Jeremiah, after a sweeping indictment of the past, likens the nation of his time to a wild ass given over to the indulgence of desire, and adds that kings, priests, and prophets take stocks and stones for their gods, and that the gods in Judah are as numerous as the cities (2^{23-28}); like a wife, he says, who is unfaithful to her husband, the House of Israel is unfaithful to Yahweh (3^{20}). These passages appear to have been written before the year 604. In a later passage ($7^{17.18}$) he describes what was done in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem: "the children gather wood and the fathers kindle the fire and the women knead the dough to make cakes for the queen of heaven and to pour libations to other gods." It appears, also, if we may trust the account in 44^{15-19}, that the cult of the queen of heaven was no mere passing fit of devotion—it had become almost the reigning cult: when, after the fall of the city, some of the people had gone down to Egypt, the women, backed by their husbands, stood up stoutly for their goddess against the prophet, and made an argument (exactly parallel to his argument for Yahweh) that doubtless seemed to them decisive: when, said they, we worshiped

the queen of heaven, as we and our fathers, our kings and our princes, had been in the habit of doing, we had plenty to eat and were in all respects well off, but since we have ceased to worship her, we have wanted all things and have been consumed by sword and famine. In $19^{4.5}$ human sacrifice, offered to Baal, is mentioned as an existing custom. Ezekiel's picture of the time agrees with that of Jeremiah. In chs. 6, 8, 14, 16, 23, he charges the whole nation with defection from Yahweh: the mountains of Israel are seats of sun-worship and other idolatrous cults (6); Jerusalem has adopted the religious rites of Assyria and Chaldea (16, 23); in the temple itself the elders of Israel worship the sun and all manner of idols, and the women practice the cult of Tammuz (8); in the Babylonian colony, also, the elders and others are idol-worshipers (14^{1-5}). The religious guides of the people, the priests and the prophets, are included in this condemnation (so also Jer. 8^{1-3}).

There is no good reason for doubting the substantial accuracy of these descriptions. The passages cited above, with the possible exception of Jer. 44^{15-19}, are generally held to belong to the period of the two prophets, and this latter passage may be omitted without seriously affecting the picture. If the picture be a faithful one, it follows that Yahwism was not the predominant cult of the people at that time. It was in a sort acknowledged as the official national cult. But the people, while they frequented the temple of Yahweh to procure his favor, yet thought it no wrong to worship other gods (Jer. 7^{4-11}); the prophet's declaration that they were unfaithful to Yahweh, and that this temple might perish like the shrine of Shiloh, was violently resented, and the mob, including the priests and the prophets, seized him with the intention of putting him to death ($26^{8.9}$).[1] There was, doubtless, a strong Yahweh party; but it consisted chiefly of the Jerusalem priests and the better sort of prophets, elders, and princes (26^{10-24}); the mass of the people were more attracted by Canaanite, Assyrian, and Babylonian cults, which offered a rich and visible form foreign to the severe

[1] Probably the affair at Anathoth (Jer. 11^{21}) was similar to this.

meagerness of the traditional nomadic worship of Yahweh. The queen of heaven and the mourning for Tammuz appealed to the women, and the images, the visible embodiments of the deity, to all the people.

In regard to the condition of things during the reigns of Josiah and Manasseh we have material in Zephaniah, Kings, and Deuteronomy. All these bear witness to the prevalence of the worship of foreign deities. Zephaniah (whose first chapter belongs somewhere in Josiah's reign) speaks of astral, Baal, and Melek cults as then practiced, and denounces priests of Yahweh, priests (*kemarim*) of other gods, princes, and members of the royal house (1^{4-8}). This agrees in general with the description given in 2 K. 23, according to which in the year 622 idolatrous shrines had been established by royal authority in the cities of Judah, incense was burned to Baal and to heavenly bodies, in the temple-area were horses and chariots consecrated to the sun, and near Jerusalem the highplaces built by Solomon for the worship of various foreign deities still stood. The defection here attributed mainly to the kings is affirmed in $22^{16.17}$ of the nation. This relates to the time of Manasseh, who, according to the record (2 K. 21, cf. Jer. 15^{4}), adopted and introduced the Assyrian worship almost bodily. This procedure, in view of the military prestige and cultic splendor of Assyria, was perfectly natural, and involved no abandonment of Yahweh. It was not a change of gods, but an enlargement of the sphere of worship, a naïve syncretism (not uncommon in religions not highly organized) that doubtless made the people more rather than less religious. There is no report of any protest against the king's action by priests and prophets of the time,[2] nor is there any evidence that he ceased to worship Yahweh. His object in placing images and symbols of Assyrian deities in the temple was neither to disown the national god (which is inconceivable for that time) nor to assert his preëminence over the others (of which there is no hint), but to do honor to the brilliant strangers and secure their protection, and perhaps

[2] If Mic. 6 belong here, its silence respecting Assyrian cults is noteworthy.

to gain favor in the eyes of his suzerain, the king of Assyria. Obviously he had not grasped or did not accept the idea that only one god should be worshiped; and it is not likely that the people, who seem to have adopted his large scheme generally, held any other theory respecting monolatry.[3] The foreign cult, according to the accounts, held sway over all the land, and the worship of Yahweh, though it did not cease, occupied a subordinate position. It was, however, stoutly maintained by a section of priests and prophets and their adherents among the people.[4] The protests of the book of Deuteronomy against polytheism (32^{15-18} 13, 18^{10} $5^{7.8}$ $7^{4.5}$ 27^{15}) bear witness to its prevalence, but also to the steady opposition made to it by a vigorous circle. Josiah is said to have undone the work of Manasseh. But though there is no reason to doubt that the description, in 2 K. 23, of his drastic proceedings is correct, there is no evidence that these had any permanent effect on the manners of the people at large. Of the religious condition in Judah between the date of the reformation (622) and the death of Josiah (609–8) we have no immediate information. It is not improbable that foreign worship was crushed for a time — the women in Jer. 44^{18} speak of having ceased to burn incense to the queen of heaven, and in 2 Chr. 35^{25} Jeremiah is said to have composed an elegy on the king. But in any case the effect of Josiah's movement was brief and superficial; in the days of Jeremiah and Ezekiel the situation was as bad as could be. The reformation was suggested and carried on by a small Yahweh party, and doubtless sustained by the king as long as he lived; but on his death the great body of the people fell back by natural inertia into their accustomed way, which was polytheistic. During the last century of the kingdom (686–586) Yahwism, far from being dominant among the people, was struggling to maintain itself against formidable rivals.

[3] It was held, even by advanced thinkers, that the various gods had been assigned by Yahweh to the different nations (Dt. $4^{19.20}$ $32^{8.9}$, revised text).

[4] It may perhaps be inferred from Jer. 35^{19} that the Rechabites were stanch supporters of Yahwism at this time.

Hezekiah is credited (2 K. 18[4]) with a movement of reform similar to that of Josiah, only of smaller proportions. Assyrian religious influence had not yet made itself felt — the cultic abuse that he opposed was the worship at the various shrines, with their sacred pillars and posts, and the worship of the bronze serpent. This serpent figure, the editor of Kings remarks, was made by Moses — an indication that the cult reached far back, though nothing is said of it elsewhere; what its relation to Yahweh was is uncertain. Here again there is no ground to doubt that Hezekiah's reformation was real as far as it went (cf. 2 K. 18[22]). That its results did not last long (except in the case of the bronze serpent, which he destroyed) we know from the succeeding history. The only available testimony is that of contemporary prophets, and, if Hezekiah ascended the throne in the year 715,[5] the only contemporary prophetic utterances are those contained in certain chapters of Isaiah (1, 10[5-32] 14[24-32] 18, 20, 22, 28[7-13], 29[1-14] 30[1-17] 31) in none of which is there a word concerning the worship of other gods than Yahweh, except, perhaps, in 31[7] and in a reference (10[11]) to the idols of Jerusalem put into the mouth of the king of Assyria; but the authenticity of this verse is doubtful. The silence of these chapters on this point may mean that foreign cults were suppressed. Hezekiah, it seems, had broken up the rural shrines, and it would be easy to control the worship in Jerusalem. In this movement, doubtless, we must recognize the hand of the Yahwist party — Isaiah seems to have interested himself in affairs of state and to have had great influence with the king. The history of Hezekiah and Josiah shows what results might follow when the Yahwist leaders were able to get control of the government: there would be a momentary predominance of the Yahweh cult, succeeded by a return of the popular mind to its natural attitude of indifference or unreflecting eclecticism. The reverses of the nation, attributed by the prophets to Yahweh's displeasure, were supposed by the people to show the power of foreign

[5] So 2 K. 18[13], and this date suits the conditions better than the date 726, derived from 2 K. 18[1].

deities. Men, as a rule, worship the god that seems most able to help them.

Whatever be Hezekiah's date, we have testimony in Isaiah (2^{6-8} 7^{10-12}), 2 Kings ($16^{3.4}$), and perhaps Micah (1^{5}) as to the religious condition in Judah between the years 735 and 721. Under Ahaz the highplaces were kept up and sacrifice of children was practiced; both these cults probably involved the worship of foreign deities. Sacrifice of firstborn children may have been an old Israelite custom; but the old custom seems to have passed away (Ex. $13^{12.13}$) and the new cult was of Canaanite origin. The details of the worship at the local shrines (highplaces) are not given in the Old Testament; but it seems certain that they were devoted both to Yahweh (2 K. 18^{22}) and to other deities (Ezek. 6, Hos. 2); probably the people did not distinguish sharply between gods. The idols, also, mentioned in Isa. 2^{8}, may have included images of Yahweh as well as of other deities; the emphatic and repeated prohibitions of the making of Yahweh images (in the decalogue, interpreted by Dt. 4^{12}) indicate that the practice existed in the eighth century. Yahweh-worship was, of course, general — the proper names of the time bear witness to that — but it was only one of a number of popular cults. Philistine influence appears at this time (Is. 2^{6}). It is mentioned only in connection with the practice of magic, but this involved the worship of certain gods. In general the feeling of the prophets Isaiah and Micah is that the nation has forsaken Yahweh; the indictment relates largely to moral conduct, but, from Is. $2^{6.8}$, must also include cultic defection, as they regarded it; more properly stated it was childlike devotion to all the gods that they were intimately acquainted with.

Religious affairs in the Northern Kingdom from Jeroboam I to the fall of Samaria are described in Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Kings. Amos denounces the shrines of Bethel, Dan, and Gilgal, but gives no details of the worship there. The book of Hosea is more explicit: ch. 2 declares that the worship of the local Canaanite deities was universal — this, in the writer's mind, means an abandonment of Yahweh,

yet clearly Yahweh was one of the deities worshiped, a baal (vs.[16]), though others, it seems, were more resorted to; the same thing is said substantially in ch. 3; in the second part of the book the shrines of Gilgal, Bethel, and Samaria are denounced, and apparently those of Mizpah, Tabor, Gilead, and Shechem (5^1 $6^{8.9}$), and there is a definite polemic against the bull-worship (8^5 10^5), to which also there is probably a reference in Am. 8^{14}. This worship seems not to have been regarded as anti-Yahwistic before the time of Amos, for Elijah and Jehu are not said to have opposed it; the increasing ethical clearness and opposition to images on the part of the great Yahwist leaders will account naturally for this new movement in the eighth century. The bull-worship became the national cult of the Northern Kingdom, was developed by Omri and Ahab (1 K. $16^{25.30}$) and continued to the end, but it seems not to signify lack of devotion to Yahweh.[6] The general indictment of the Northern Kingdom is contained in a late section in the book of Kings (2 K. $17^{10\text{-}17}$), wherein it is charged with both baalism and astralism. Whether the former refers to baal-cults in general or only to the Tyrian cult of Jezebel it is not easy to say; neither baal-worship nor star-worship is elsewhere mentioned in this period, except that it is said that Ahaziah sent to consult the Philistine Baalzebub (2 K. 1). But this latter incident makes it probable that local gods were worshiped, though the interest of the later (Judæan) editors was almost entirely fixed on the bull-cult, which naturally appeared to them a more formidable attack on Yahweh. There is no mention of any contemporary protests by Yahwists till the introduction of the Tyrian worship. This was so flagrantly anti-national that it aroused the opposition of the national party, and the foreign cult was crushed by Jehu.

[6] Probably Jeroboam meant his bulls to represent Yahweh. True the authenticity of the second half of 1 K. 12^{28} is doubtful — the tradition of the exodus is not mentioned elsewhere before the time of Amos, and we do not know when it took shape. But there is no hint in the Old Testament that the bulls represented a foreign god, and we know of no Israelite god but Yahweh. The Dan shrine, adopted by Jeroboam, seems to have been Yahwist from an early time (Judg. 18).

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It lasted only about a generation, but seems to have been generally accepted by the people (1 K. 19[18]).

In the Southern Kingdom, from Solomon to Hezekiah, the record is one of practically continuous non-Yahwistic cults; and the reform of Hezekiah, extending over less than a generation, had hardly any observable permanent effect. Foreign worships are noted in the times of Solomon (1 K. 11[5-8]), Rehoboam (14[22-24]), Asa (15[12-14]), Jehoshaphat (22[43]), Jehoram (2 K. 8[18]), Ahaziah (8[27]), Jehoash (12[3]), Amaziah (14[4]), Azariah (15[4]), Jotham (15[35]), Ahaz (16[3. 4]). Many of the notices refer to highplaces; but it is probable that these shrines involved worship of local baals along with that of Yahweh. It is not said that Ahaz's new altar, fashioned after that of Damascus (2 K. 16), brought in any element of foreign worship; but the fact that Isaiah's friend Urijah (Is. 8[2]) was charged with its erection shows what freedom the king allowed himself in the arrangement of the temple-cult. Ahaz's polite indifference to Isaiah's proposed sign from Yahweh (Is. 7[12]) was hardly due to his greater interest in other deities. But in any case it appears from the evidence that Yahwism was only one of a number of cults practiced in Judah during this period. No protest against this mingling of cults is recorded. It is mentioned that Asa removed the *kedeshim* and the idols that his fathers had made, and destroyed his mother's *mifleṣet;* and Jehoshaphat, it is said, continued his father's work (1 K. 22[43]). As to the history of sacred prostitution in Israel we have no exact information; from Gen. 38[21. 22] 1 K. 14[24] Am. 2[7](?) Hos. 4[13] Dt. 23[17. 18] we may perhaps infer that it continued to exist to the end of the seventh century, though it may not have come into prominence until the time of Manasseh. The precise nature of the *mifleṣet* is unknown; it was possibly connected with obscene worship. These were flagrant violations of custom, and their removal did not affect the general popular worship of other deities than Yahweh. This popular worship appears to have been sanctioned by custom (which was the determining authority) and goes back as far as Solomon.

Whatever the nature of David's religious movement (2 Sam. 6), it is evident from the succeeding history that it did not prevent heterolatry. Brought up in a pastoral community of Judah he would of course inherit the Yahwistic traditions and customs of that region. But he regarded the cult of Yahweh as belonging only to Yahweh's land, and took it as a matter of course that in another land he would worship other gods (1 Sam. 26^{19}). It was not he that introduced Yahwism into Northern Israel; the tradition respecting the shrines of Shiloh and Dan (1 Sam. 1–6, Judg. 18) is too strong to permit such a supposition; we must suppose that some knowledge of Yahweh had come to the Joseph tribes at an earlier time. But Yahwism appears to have had its stronghold in Judah, and David was an ardent Yahwist. Doubtless a Yahwist party existed before he came to the throne — a party that held to the old nomadic tradition and was unfriendly to Canaanite customs. Thus the policy of Samuel and the "prophets" and other persons connected with him may be explained. Saul, whose military renown had made him king over the Joseph tribes, was doubtless a worshiper of Yahweh (as is indicated by the name of his son Jonathan), but not devoted enough to satisfy the extreme Yahwists, and Samuel cast his eye on the young Judæan warrior (1 Sam. 19^{18}) whose fidelity was unquestionable. If we may accept the account of Samuel's anointing of David (1 Sam. 16) as a good tradition, the procedure is exactly parallel to the anointing of Jehu — it is the act of leaders who saw the necessity of having a vigorous and thoroughgoing Yahwist at the head of the government. Their expectations were to a certain extent fulfilled. The establishment of the Jerusalem shrine, together with the partial unification of the country, tended to diffuse and fix the conviction that Yahwism was the official national cult. Neither David's tabernacle nor Solomon's temple had any effect in restraining the worship at the rural shrines, which was not always worship of Yahweh; but they doubtless gave a certain éclat to the latter cult, especially in the South. Nor did the unification last long — it was in fact only skin-

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deep, and the Northern Kingdom set up its own official ritual, which, however, seems to have been Yahwistic. The attachment to Yahweh was probably strong in the royal family of Judah owing to David's influence; royal names compounded with "Yahweh" are more numerous in the South than in the North.

Back of David and Saul lies the period of the judges, in which the history of Yahwism is obscure. Its close is distinguished by the rise of the nationalist Yahweh party, whose object was both political and religious — two sides that characterized it throughout. It was probably in silent process of formation for a considerable time, perhaps from the moment of the settlement in Canaan. Antagonism would naturally spring up between the rigid adherents of Yahweh and the Canaanite party — that is, the Canaanites and those who adopted Canaanite and other foreign cults. This antagonism continued in spite of the partial amalgamation of Yahweh and Baal: the Canaanite communities were gradually absorbed by the Israelites, and the title "Baal" was given in the early times to Yahweh (cf. the name of David's son Baalyada, 1 Chr. 14^{7}, and so, probably, that of Saul's son Ishbaal, 1 Chr. 8^{33}); but the two cults remained side by side.

According to the prophetic writings the popular devotion to non-Yahwistic cults seems to have increased rather than diminished as the Israelites advanced in civilization. Yet the testimony goes to show that baalism was universal in the time of the judges. The summary of the religious history in Judg. $2^{11\text{-}19}$ represents the people as alternating between Yahwism and baalism; but obviously the real situation that comes out between the lines is continuous addiction to Canaanite cults. The summary is late, in general of the Deuteronomic period; but the tradition it expresses is supported by other statements in the book. Gideon's ephod (8^{27}) set up in all innocence and widely resorted to in the central part of the North, apparently had nothing to do with Yahweh; and it is doubtful whether Micah's shrine was devoted to Yahweh before the Bethlehem priest came

to him (17[13]). The judges, as they are here depicted, were not men in whom one would look for cultic fastidiousness. Beyond doubt Yahweh worship existed in the North; but it is difficult to say how widely extended it was and how much stress was laid on it. For example, the author of Deborah's Song, a resident of the North and an ardent Yahwist, measures the devotion of the tribes to Yahweh by their readiness to fight the foreign foe; but it is obvious that participation in a battle was determined by local considerations, and is no indication of the extent of the popular worship of Yahweh. The description of Yahweh's coming from Edom (vss.[4. 5]), if it belong to the original form of the poem, shows that the writer thought it well to insist on the non-Canaanite origin of the national deity—it suggests that the consciousness that he abode in Edom drew a dividing line between those who held to him and those who worshiped Canaanite gods. But, apart from the passage in question, the fact that Yahweh's proper or original abode was in Edom (or Horeb) was doubtless widely known.

There is only slight mention of Judah in the book of Judges; the tribe was perhaps isolated from the others, and this book consists mainly of traditions of the northern half of the land. The conquest of the South is curtly described in the first chapter, and besides this there is only the bare mention of a Levite (17, 18) who came up from Bethlehem to the Ephraimite highland; another Levite (19), who dwelt in Ephraim and married a wife in Bethlehem, may also have come from the latter place. As to the condition of religion in Judah there is no direct statement in Judges. It is perhaps to be included in the indictments of chs. 2 and 10, but this is not certain. However this may be, all the hints in the early records lead us to suppose that the people of the South would be especially devoted to the cult of Yahweh. Here dwelt Kenites (1[16]) of the tribe into which, according to one tradition, Moses married, whose god seems to have been Yahweh (Ex. 18[10. 11]); and Moses' wife was of a priestly family. The early fortunes of Moses' tribe of Levi are involved in obscurity: after some unfor-

tunate experience (Gen. 34), it appears, the tribe was scattered (Gen. 49[7]) and never succeeded in gaining territory. From Judg. 17 it may probably be inferred that some Levites lived in the district of Judah, and that they were specially connected with the cult of Yahweh. As Moses, in all probability, was closely related to the Kenites by marriage, and from them adopted the cult of Yahweh and introduced it into Israel, his tribe would naturally be regarded as ministrants of this cult; or it is, perhaps, better to say that Moses' tribe, affiliated with the Kenites in their home at Horeb, fell in with their worship. However this may be, the Levites were landless, and seem to have wandered about seeking dwelling-places. Carrying special knowledge of the details of the cult of Yahweh, they would be a sort of Yahweh missionaries, and would form a nucleus of a Yahweh party. With them would be associated all those persons who, for whatever reason, declined to adopt the worship of the Canaanite baals. As has already been remarked, we do not know precisely how or when the Joseph tribes came to the knowledge of Yahweh, or how the Yahweh cult spread through the land. But it may be assumed that in these early times it had no strong hold on the people, and was kept alive by a minority (Gideon is, perhaps, according to the tradition in Judg. 6, a strenuous Yahwist, yet, according to 8[27], free in cultic details).

This rapid review of the history indicates that down to about the middle of the sixth century Yahwism was not the prevailing popular worship in Israel. In every period for which there are records the testimony of prophets and historians is to the effect that non-Yahwistic cults were not only practiced by the masses and some of the leaders but were preferably followed. For the succeeding time down to the coming of Nehemiah there is little historical material. In the sixth century there are indistinct signs of indifference to Yahweh (Is. 42[18-20] 45[9-13] 55[2] cf. 59) and later (perhaps in the fifth century) definite charges of addiction to foreign cults (Is. 57[3-10] 65[1-5] 66[3. 4]). For the community that built the second temple we have only the vague hint in Zech. 5[5-11],

in which "wickedness" (whether ethical or cultic is not said) is borne off from Jerusalem to the land of Shinar. From such statements we gather little or nothing concerning popular customs. The evidence goes to show that under Nehemiah the little Judæan community was definitely Yahwist[7] and so continued; and the Samaritans and probably the Babylonian colony were in accord with it. The century 550–450 thus witnessed a noteworthy cultic evolution or reorganization — the final triumph of Yahweh in Israel.

For the explanation of the result we must assume, in the first place, a firm tradition of Yahwism as the national cult brought by the people from the wilderness into Canaan. This cult was substantially in the hands of the two dominant Israelite bodies, the Moses group (Levi and Judah) and the Joseph group,[8] but doubtless spread over the whole Israelite territory. The nation, as a whole, seems never to have lost the consciousness of its national character, though at times this consciousness was obscured or deadened. Other cults attracted the people, but none of them had the stamp of Israelite nationality. It is out of national traditions that national life is developed.

In the next place, the records bear witness to a constant struggle between this native cult and its foreign neighbors. The antagonism was at first purely social, not ethical, and not based on religious convictions. The people never held that Yahweh was the only god in existence, or that he was morally or physically superior to other gods. They shared the opinion, common among undeveloped communities, that a god was to be valued according to his performance;[9] in this

[7] The practices mentioned in Zech. 10^2 13^2 do not disprove this general statement. The existence of other gods continued to be recognized (Ps. 58. 82).

[8] Gad, Asher, Reuben, and Simeon may be left out of the account as unimportant. Dan appears to have received Yahwism from Levi. Issachar, Zebulon, and Naphtali were probably attached to Ephraim; they have little prominence. The Judah tribe was a conglomeration, in which Kenites, Kenizzites, and related clans are found — all originally nomads of the districts south of Canaan.

[9] The appeals of the prophets on behalf of Yahweh are based largely on what he has done for his people.

regard there is a fine eclecticism among half-civilized tribes. The loosely held traditional reverence for the national deity was not strong enough to prevent recurrence to other deities, particularly in those places in which there came about a fusion of Israelite and Canaanite inhabitants. It was only a small minority that was so strongly attached to Yahweh as to be proof against the seductions of outside cults. There are indications (in Judges, as is pointed out above) that this Yahweh party was in existence at a very early time, but it took shape only under the pressure of peculiarly adverse circumstances. The antagonism of cults was at first unformulated, hardly conscious. It began to become conscious when the national spirit was aroused, in the time of Samuel and Saul, by the fear of permanent foreign domination — political nationalism and religious nationalism united, as, in fact, they were at bottom one. The records of this early religious movement are brief and fragmentary, but there are indications that it was at first connected with the old nomadic tradition. Samuel is said to have been a Nazirite (Samson is too vague a figure to be cited), David was of the Judæan wilderness, Elijah was of the eastern steppe, Amos was a herdsman. Later prophets (Hos. 2, Is. 7) recur to the wilderness as the scene of the nation's purer religious life. It was the recollection of Yahweh as a wilderness deity. The Rechabites also, flitting and undefined as they are, belong in this category. This memory of the non-Canaanite origin of the national cult was powerful enough to band together a certain number of persons, and it was their zeal that kept Yahwism alive through the troubled years when the whole nation, kings, princes, elders, people, seemed to have gone over to the service of foreign gods. This minority represented the genius of the Israelite people — the instinct of devotion to one deity.[10] After a while the party produced a succession of great thinkers who, holding fast to the claim of the national god to be worshiped alone, looked away from nomadism, and created an ethical type of religion.

[10] Renan's famous characterization of the Semitic theistic instinct would be substantially true if instead of "monotheism" he had said "monolatry."

It is not the first time that the true spirit of a people has been embodied in a minority which has fought its way to recognition. What the other party thought and did we can only guess. The Old Testament was written by devoted Yahwists who have no mercy on their opponents; these latter have no showing, and the real history of Ahab, Ahaz, Manasseh, and the "false prophets" might put things in a different light. Be this as it may, it is certain that our prophets represent the true Israel.

But the prophets, with all their splendid hopefulness and courage, seemed to be carrying on a losing fight — at the fall of Jerusalem the situation was not encouraging. It is, in fact, doubtful what the issue would have been but for the political conditions that put the control of the Judæan remnant into the hands of Yahwists and perhaps other nationalists. The leaders on the other side were in exile, the old seductive neighbor cults were crushed by the Persians, and the new rulers of the Jews were not image-worshipers and were almost monotheistic. Something, no doubt, must be credited to the general advance of thought — the Jews began to feel the intellectual influence of a larger world. All these conditions combined to set Yahwistic monolatry on a firm foundation, from which it was not destined to be moved.

The triumph of Yahweh was brought about by the vigor and determination of a minority of the Jewish people, seconded at the last by fortunate social circumstances. The ethical power of the Yahwist cult came to it through the ethical clearsightedness of its adherents. The moral development was an affair of time: in the beginning the morals of the cult were those of a half-civilized people — then there was an advance to the elementary rules of the decalogue, and to the broader morality of the prophets, and finally to the greater depth and refinement of later law-books (Deut., Lev. 19) and of Job, Proverbs, Psalms, and certain non-canonical writings (Ben-Sira, Wisdom of Solomon, Tobit). No cult, simply as a cult, has any inherent ethical power — it is always ethically what its founders and adherents make

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it. Nor was there any peculiar moral element resident in the way in which the Israelite tribes adopted the worship of Yahweh. If, indeed, it could be supposed that their adoption of it was by formal national free choice, this fact would probably give enthusiasm and persistence to their devotion. But such a method of adoption would be unexampled in the history of early tribes, and there is nothing in the records to prove it. Ex. 18 cannot be regarded as more reliable in details than the rest of the exodus story. The historical kernel of the description in Ex. 18 is some connection between Israelite Yahwism and the tribe of Jethro; but a formal public meeting and vote for Yahwism seems to be in the highest degree improbable.[11] It is by social intercourse that a cult goes from one early community to another (in this way the Israelites fell into baalism); and so, probably, Yahwism came to Israel. We must, no doubt, recognize a peculiar vigor and stanchness in the original adherents of Yahweh — such stanchness is a characteristic of the Jewish people, and is sufficient to account for the persistence of the national worship. The later ethical character of the cult may be regarded as contained implicitly in the earliest form in the sense in which every result is implicit in its beginning.

The maintenance and development of a national faith by a minority is not a phenomenon peculiar to Israelite history. The Greek national religion had its real expression in the poets and philosophers of the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B.C.; but the circumstances were such that this highest form did not penetrate the masses. China, India, and Egypt went through similar experiences. Medieval Christianity, which was the old Germanic heathenism with a veneer of Christian terms, owed its purification to a few persons, and the European masses are still heathen. The peculiarity of the Jewish history is that it was possible to isolate and train the better element of the people.

[11] Similarly the tradition of the prowess of Levi (Ex. 32, Deut. $33^{8.9}$) is not historical.

The Divine Name in Exodus iii. 14

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THE section of the Book of Exodus in which this verse occurs is a familiar one. It describes Jahweh's initial appearance to Moses and the latter's commission to deliver the Children of Israel from the Egyptian bondage. The Jahwistic and Elohistic sources have been so closely interwoven at this point that the greatest difference of opinion exists among critics as to the attribution of the material. There are hardly two writers who do not disagree at some point or other in the course of the third chapter, while some make no attempt at a complete analysis. There is, however, universal agreement regarding the fact that the passage which has to do with Moses' inquiry after the proper name of the god of Israel's fathers and the ensuing reply, is to be assigned to the E source. Not merely has it the earmark of the appellative אלהים, but the J source has no room or occasion for such an episode, whereas the E document almost requires it. Dillmann, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Jülicher, Kittel, Driver, Cornill, Bacon, Baentsch, Holzinger, Moore, Carpenter and Harford — all are agreed that vss.[10-15] contain no J material, though a number of them maintain that redactional elements are not lacking. That is the position assumed in this paper.

Nor, for the purposes of our discussion, does it make any difference whether or not we hold with Steuernagel that all the subsequent passages in the E document in which the name יהוה occurs, together with vss.[13-15] of this chapter, in which the name is formally introduced, are additions from the hand of E^2, the original E source knowing nothing of

this disclosure of the name and continuing after as before to employ אלהים.[1] Nothing that we have to say is in any way affected by shifting the entire series of יהוה passages from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the seventh century B.C. We may consider the whole of E a document of the middle of the seventh century, disregarding the fact that the greater part of it was taken from an earlier written source. That document introduced the name יהוה for the first time in the call of Moses, and employed the name from time to time thereafter.

In any case, this passage gives us much more than we require. It is not content with introducing the name יהוה at the appropriate point in the Elohistic narrative; it goes on to obtrude — or rather, it begins by obtruding, two occult expressions, which have some shadowy connection with the name to be communicated. Instead of the expected יהוה, God answers Moses' inquiry, "When the children of Israel ask me thy name, what shall I say unto them?" with the enigmatic אהיה אשר אהיה, and continues, "Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, אהיה hath sent me unto you."

In spite of the fact that what we want, and what Moses is represented as wanting, is a name, and not a definition of the name, or a characterization of the person bearing it, it is assumed (so far as I know, by all scholars) that the writer of vs.[14] here puts into the mouth of Jahweh at once a definition of his name and a characterization of his person. That the definition is more or less opaque, and the characterization more or less unintelligible, are not held to be very serious defects. However much they may have discommoded Moses, they furnish rare opportunities for the gyrations of the "religionsgeschichtlicher Luftballon." Ordinarily, this definition and characterization is not, among modern scholars, taken to represent anything but the mind of the indi-

[1] *Studien und Kritiken*, 1899, pp. 339 ff.; anticipated by Bacon, *Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, pp. lii and 23, and in part by Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs*[2], p. 72. The more defensible position is to abide by Wellhausen's suggestion, assigning Exodus 3^{13-15} to the original source, while attributing the subsequent יהוה sections to a later hand.

vidual Elohistic writer, who labored unsuccessfully to bring to expression the product of his own theological speculations. Kautzsch, however, asserts that "the rejection of the interpretation [of the name Jahweh] offered in Exodus 3[15] [slip for [14]] involves the conclusion that even the early sources of the Pentateuch were in error as to the true meaning of the most important and most sacred Divine name in Israel," and asks, "Can it be supposed that at the time of E (c. 750 B.C.) the living apprehension of the genius of the Hebrew language was no longer adequate to interpret correctly a name like Jahweh? We cannot help thinking that this question has been answered in the affirmative far too hastily by those who follow the prevailing current of opinion on this subject. And we are only strengthened in our conviction when we note the extremely varied interpretations which have been proposed as substitutes for that adopted in Exodus 3[15] [[14]]."[2]

I think it can be shown (against Kautzsch) that Exodus 3[14] affords no data for the scientific determination of the origin and meaning of the name Jahweh; and (against the current view) that this verse is in no way concerned with the subject of the origin and meaning of the name, and accordingly does not even give us the writer's views upon that subject; and finally that the phrase אהיה אשר אהיה in vs.[14a] and the word אהיה in [14b], upon which all this theorizing has been based, were not to be found in the E document, but came into the text of the completed Pentateuch several hundred years after the middle of the seventh century, certainly not long before 300 B.C.

One cannot operate with uncertain quantities. Our first task must be to remove all doubt as to the priority of the Masoretic text, and our second task will be to determine the meaning of its language. Only then shall we be in a position to deal with the literary and historical questions involved.

[2] Article *Religion of Israel* in the Extra Volume of Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, pp. 625 f.; cf. the same author's article on *Divine Names*, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 3323.

The question as to the text may be finally disposed of. Nowhere is there any trace of an original Hebrew other than that of our current editions, viz.: 14 ויאמר אלהים אל משה אהיה אשר אהיה ויאמר כה תאמר לבני ישראל אהיה שלחני אליכם: 15 ויאמר עוד אלהים אל משה כה תאמר אל בני ישראל יהוה אלהי אבתיכם אלהי אברהם אלהי יצחק ואלהי יעקב שלחני אליכם זה שמי לעלם וזה זכרי לדר דר:

The variants of Hebrew manuscripts recorded by Kennicott and De Rossi are as follows: In vs.[14], one manuscript omits the initial ויאמר; one manuscript omits אשר; one manuscript repeats אשר; one manuscript omits ויאמר כה תאמר לבני ישראל אהיה;[3] all these indubitably represent careless departure from the current text. For לבני of vs.[14b], thirteen Hebrew manuscripts of Kennicott and twelve more of De Rossi have, with the Soncino edition (1488) and apparently all Samaritan manuscripts, אל בני, as in vs.[15]; four more of Kennicott and ten of De Rossi were corrected to לבני from first hand אל בני; one of De Rossi began to write אל בני but changed to לבני, while another of De Rossi actually had לבני corrected to אל בני; the difference is quite immaterial, though, to judge from vs.[13], the writer's style was not so uniform, rather varying for the sake of euphony, so that לבני of our text would seem to be the original. For the final אליכם four manuscripts spell אלכם. In vs.[15a], two manuscripts have אלהים עוד in place of עוד אלהים; one manuscript inserts אהיה between משה and כה; three manuscripts have לבני, as in vs.[14], in place of אל בני; one manuscript has ישר for ישראל; one manuscript has אהיה שלחני אליכם before יהוה; one manuscript has אברהם instead of אבתיכם, repeating אלהי אברהם; five manuscripts omit אבתיכם; two Samaritan manuscripts spell אבותיכם; four Masoretic manuscripts have, with the Samaritans, ו before אלהי יצחק; one manuscript has שלח for שלחני; four manuscripts (two of them the same as in the case of vs.[14]) have אלכם for אליכם. In vs.[15b], six Masoretic manuscripts have, with the Samaritans and the Soncino edition, לעולם for לעלם, and five more have

[3] This is the only possible interpretation of Kennicott's "אהיה 2°... ויאמר 2° ▲ 75."

been corrected to לעלם.[4] Finally, five Masoretic manuscripts read לדור דור, and two more did so originally; one manuscript inserts the conjunction, while retaining the defective spelling, לדר ודר, and three have the conjunction with plene spelling, לדור ודור. The Samaritans spell variously, לדר ודר, לדור ודר, and לדור ודור, but all, apparently, have the conjunction. Of these variants, all that do not consist in mere difference of spelling are unmistakable corruptions of our received text. דר ודר, with the conjunction, occurs much oftener, especially in the later literature, but דר דר, though it occurs only twice elsewhere in the Old Testament, is unquestionably the more idiomatic Hebrew.

Coming to the Alexandrian Greek version, Codex Alexandrinus (A) and Codex Vaticanus (B) agree to the letter as regards all but the two words bracketed below, which are omitted by A. I have derived the readings of A and B directly from the photographic reproductions of the manuscripts: [14] *Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς Μωυσῆν* [*λέγων*], *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν· καὶ εἶπεν, οὕτως ἐρεῖς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ, ὁ ὢν ἀπέσταλκέν με πρὸς ὑμᾶς.* [15] *καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς πάλιν πρὸς Μωυσῆν, οὕτως ἐρεῖς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ, Κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν, θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ, ἀπέσταλκέν με πρὸς ὑμᾶς· τοῦτό μού ἐστιν ὄνομα αἰώνιον καὶ μνημόσυνον* [*γενεῶν*] *γενεαῖς.*

In the omission of *λέγων* A is supported by Codex Ambrosianus (Lagarde F)[5] — which with Alexandrinus is left unnoticed by Holmes in this connection — and, according to Holmes, by Codex Coislinianus (Lagarde M), the only remaining uncial that contains the passage, besides the cursives, Holmes 14, 15, 18, 25, 30, 32, 52, 55, 56, 57, 59, 64, 71, 74, 75, 76, 83, 84, 106, 107, 108, 131, 134, 135, the Complutensian, Aldine, and Grabian editions, the text of Nicephorus, and several daughter versions. The weight of evidence, with-

[4] Fanciful Rabbinical speculations bear express witness to the universal defective spelling of the word in this passage in earlier times; see *b. Pesahim* 50*a*, *Qiddushin* 71*a*, *j. Yoma* 40*d*, and *Shemoth Rabba*, *ad loc.*

[5] See Ceriani's edition of the manuscript, *Monumenta sacra et profana*, vol. iii. pp. 25 f.

out any regard to the Hebrew, obliges us to exclude λέγων from the Greek text. That done, the text of A and B is entirely in accord with the Masoretic Hebrew. The conjunction before θεὸς Ἰσαάκ and the uniform rendering of לבני and אל בני could hardly be avoided in the Greek; while the dependence of μνημόσυνον on τοῦτό μού ἐστιν was too obvious to tolerate the repetition of that phrase. Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν is of course not the proper equivalent of אהיה אשר אהיה, but it is not a proper equivalent of any imaginable Hebrew, and is more likely to be based upon this somewhat cryptical, than upon a more transparent Hebrew; the original yielded the Greek translator no thought, only a verb, and he supplied the thought. As regards γενεῶν γενεαῖς of B and γενεαῖς of A, it would be sufficient for our purposes to point out that whether the Greek translator rendered γενεῶν γενεαῖς or merely γενεαῖς, לדר דר must be assumed for the Hebrew that lay before him. In my judgment, however, A will represent the original Greek, though it is apparently alone in the reading γενεαῖς; for the order γενεῶν γενεαῖς, which is opposed with γενεαῖς γενεῶν by five cursives only (H. 19, 108, 118, 53, 72, of which the first three are "Lucianic" and the last "Hexaplaric"), is not a natural one, and the single Greek plural word occurs elsewhere for the iterated Hebrew singular: εἰς γενεάς is the rendering of מדור לדור in Isaiah 34[10] and of דור ודור in Isaiah 61[4].

Among the numerous recorded variants from the above Greek text, there are, in the first place, certain manifest errors of omission due to homœoteleuton: one manuscript (H. 53) skips from πρὸς Μωυσῆν in vs.[14] to the words following the same phrase in vs.[15]; the same manuscript passes from θεός preceding τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν to the word Ἀβραάμ; two manuscripts (H. 72, 74) pass from τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ of vs.[14] to what follows these words in vs.[15]; and one manuscript (H. 54) passes from τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν of vs.[15] to the words following the same expression in vs.[16].

In the next place, there are a number of variants which, however relevant they may be to the reconstruction of the original form of the Alexandrian version, have no bearing

on the question of the underlying Hebrew. Such are the readings *εἶπε δέ* or *εἶπεν δέ* of a few cursives (among them the "Lucianic" H. 19, 108, 118) for *καὶ εἶπεν* in 14a or 15; the form *ἀπέσταλκε*, without final *ν*; the insertion in a large number of cursives and three early editions of the article *ὁ* before *θεὸς Ἀβραάμ*, *θεὸς Ἰσαάκ*, and *θεὸς Ἰακώβ*; the reading *ἀπέστειλε* of the "Lucianic" manuscripts H. 108 and 118 for *ἀπέσταλκε* in vs.15; the reading *μοί* for *μοῦ* in a few cursives; the insertion of *τό* before *ὄνομα* in the Complutensian Polyglott. In the same category belong the omission of the initial *καί* by five cursives in vs.14 and by two cursives in vs.15, and of course the erroneous *γενεάς* for *γενεαῖς* of H. 75, as well as the reading *γενεαῖς γενεῶν* referred to above.

Lastly, there are the variants which might bear on the original Hebrew if they represent the earliest form of the Greek version. Ten cursive manuscripts (H. 14, 16, 25, 32, 52, 54, 57, 77, 78, 130) have for *θεός* of vs.14 *Κύριος ὁ θεός*; the reading, even if it were more strongly sustained than it is, would have to be rejected on the merits of the question: יהוה אלהים is utterly impossible in this connection. The same is true of the Complutensian's simple *Κύριος* for *θεός*. Six cursives (H. 16, 25, 52, 54, 78, 131) and the text of Nicephorus omit the troublesome *καὶ εἶπεν* at the beginning of vs.14b; the omission of the phrase is easily accounted for, but its introduction, on the other hand, would be quite unaccountable. An isolated manuscript (H. 83) goes one step farther and omits with *καὶ εἶπεν* the preceding *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν*, being doubtless influenced by the *πρὸς Μωυσῆν οὕτως ἐρεῖς κ. τ. λ.* of vs.15. Lagarde's uncial M and one cursive (H. 18) omit *μέ* in vs.14; one cursive (H. 106) omits *ὁ θεὸς πάλιν πρὸς Μωυσῆν* in vs.15, imitating the *καὶ εἶπεν οὕτως ἐρεῖς* of 14b; another cursive (H. 75) omits *πάλιν*, imitating vs.14a; and another (H. 72) omits *πρὸς Μωυσῆν* of vs.15. All these almost certainly involve only oversight on the part of the copyists of the individual manuscripts concerned. The fifth century Codex Ambrosianus (Lagarde F) and the seventh century M besides ten cursives (H. 18, 55, 58, 59, 64, 72, 84, 85, 107, 134) have *πάλιν ὁ θεός* in place of *ὁ θεὸς πάλιν*, while ten

more cursives (H. 14, 16, 25, 32, 52, 54, 57, 73, 78, 131 — in the main the same that insert Κύριος in vs.[14]), and the text of Nicephorus have πάλιν Κύριος ὁ θεός. Disregarding the element Κύριος on the grounds alleged above, one might be inclined to accept this as the original order of the Greek version, since it more closely conforms to the Hebrew עוד אלהים; but the reading of A and B and congeners is not so easily disposed of, nor does that reading necessarily bespeak a Hebrew אלהים עוד. It is most reasonable to suppose that the reading πάλιν ὁ θεός goes back to an early correction aiming at more rigid conformity to the Hebrew order. The variant πάλιν ὁ θεός, then, will confirm the Hebrew text, while not invalidating the reading ὁ θεὸς πάλιν as the original form of the Greek version. Of the remaining variants none need detain us. H. 106 alone has πρὸς αὐτούς for τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ of vs.[15]; the Sixtine edition, supported presumably by a number of Holmes's cursives, prints ἡμῶν for ὑμῶν; and H. 55 adds ὦπταί μοι after ὑμῶν, in imitation of vs.[16].

We must hold that the Hebrew which lay before the translator of this passage in the Alexandrian Greek version was the same as that of our Masoretic text.

That being the case, we can hardly expect to encounter any adverse testimony in the later versions.

Of the other Greek versions we know no more than was recorded already by Montfaucon.[6] According to the manuscript H. 64 (Montfaucon's Reg. 1871), Aquila and Theodotion had in vs.[14] ἔσομαι ἔσομαι (for אהיה אשר אהיה), and Symmachus had in vs.[15] ἀνάμνησίς μου (for זכרי). Of the former, Montfaucon remarks, "Videtur excidisse ὅς ac legendum ἔσομαι ὃς ἔσομαι, *ero qui ero*, ut consonent cum Hebraico אהיה אשר אהיה." So also both Bahrdt,[7] "Videtur ὅς excidisse," and Field, "ubi pronomen excidisse videtur." Field cites the rendering of Græcus Venetus, ἔσομαι ὃς ἔσομαι; but the Jewish author of the Venetus had no need of Aquila and Theodotion to guide him to that rendering; — the Complutensian Polyglott, not many decades after, translated the

[6] *Hexaplorum Origenis quae supersunt*, Paris, 1713, vol. i. pp. 60 f.
[7] *Hexaplorum Origenis quae supersunt*, Leipzig, 1769, Part i. p. 268.

אהיה אשר אהיה of the Targum text with *ero qui ero*. That a relative pronoun has been carelessly omitted in the transmission of the rendering of those ancient versions is, however, probable enough.

The Targum of Onqelos, the Samaritan Targum, and the Peshîṭa for Exodus 3[14 f.] are practically literal renderings of our Masoretic text. In all three versions the Hebrew אהיה אשר אהיה of [14a] and אהיה of [14b] are carried over with no attempt at interpretation.

The consonantal text of Onqelos in the Complutensian Polyglott is as follows: [14] ואמר יי למשה אהיה אשר אהיה ואמר כדנן תימר לבני ישראל אהיה שלחני לותכון [15] ואמר עוד יי למשה כדנן תימר לבני ישראל יי אלהא דאבהתכון אלהיה דאברהם אלהיה דיצחק ואלהיה דיעקב שלחני לותכון דין שמי לעלם ודין דוכרני לכל דר ודר. That of the London Polyglott is identical with this, save that it prints " for יי. Berliner's reprint (1884) of the Sabbioneta edition of 1557, besides employing ", differs only in the reading אילהיה instead of אלהיה before דיצחק and דיעקב. The isolated variant for vs.[14] referred to by Berliner (Part ii. p. 183), I have not been able to ascertain. The Targum's habitual substitution of יי for אלהים of the Hebrew is of course of no textual significance.

For the Samaritan Targum I transliterate from Petermann's edition (Berlin, 1882): [14] ואמר אלהה אל משה אהיה אשר אהיה ואמר אכהן תימר לבני ישראל אהיה שלחני לידכון [15] ואמר עוד אלהה למשה אכהן תימר לבני ישראל יהוה אלהי אבהתכון אלהי אברהם ואלהי יצחק ואלהי יעקב שלחני לידכון דן שמי לעולם ודן דכרי לדר ודר. The variants resulting from Petermann's collations are: in vs.[14], אלהים for אלהה; למשה for אל משה; מדן for אכהן; לברי for לבני; שדרני and שלחני for שלחני; in vs.[15], אורי for אמר; אלהים for אלהה; מדנן and מדן for אכהן; תימר omitted; לברי for לבני; אלה for אלהי; אלהי אברהם for אלהה דאברהם, and similarly in the two parallel phrases following; for שלחני as in vs.[14]; לעלמה and לעלם for לעולם; דכרי for דכרי; and לדור for לדר. The variants, when not scribal errors, are but different renderings of our Hebrew text.

For the Peshiṭa I give the text of Codex Ambrosianus from Ceriani's photolithographic reproduction: ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ[14] ܐܗܝܐ ܕܐܗܝܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܗܟܢܐ ܬܐܡܪ ܠܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܐܗܝܐ ܫܕܪܢܝ ܠܘܬܟܘܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܨܚܩ ܘܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܥܩܘܒ ܫܕܪܢܝ ܠܘܬܟܘܢ ܗܢܐ ܫܡܝ ܠܥܠܡ ܘܗܢܐ ܕܟܪܢܝ ܠܕܪ ܕܪ[15] ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܬܐܡܪ ܠܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܐܗܝܐ ܫܕܪܢܝ ܠܘܬܟܘܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܗܝܟܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܨܚܩ ܘܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܥܩܘܒ ܫܕܪܢܝ ܠܘܬܟܘܢ ܗܢܐ ܫܡܝ ܠܥܠܡ ܘܗܢܐ ܕܟܪܢܝ ܠܕܪ ܕܪ. The texts of the London and Paris Polyglotts and the Urûmia edition of 1852 accord with this, except that the Polyglotts have ܐܝܣܪܝܠ for ܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ, and the Urûmia edition has ܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ and ܐܗܝܐ ܕܐܗܝܐ. Aphraates, in the *Demonstration that Christ is the Son of God* (written in the year 655 Sel. = 343–344 A.D.), quotes from vs.[14] ܐܗܝܐ ܕܐܗܝܐ and from vs.[15] ܗܢܐ ܫܡܝ ܠܥܠܡ ܘܗܢܐ ܕܟܪܢܝ ܠܕܪ ܕܪ.[8]

The paraphrases of Targum Jerushalmi I (Pseudo-Jonathan) and Jerushalmi II (Fragment-Targum), though of some value for the history of exegesis, are worthless for purposes of textual criticism.

Finally I adduce the Latin of Jerome, first from the Complutensian Polyglott, and next from the Clementine edition of 1592, the official text of the Roman Church. I supplement the abbreviations of the Complutensian in parentheses: *Dixit deus ad moysen. Ego sum qui sum. Ait. Sic dices filiis israel. Qui ē(st): misit me ad vos. Dixitque iterum deus ad moysen. Hec dices filiis israel. Dominus deus patrū(m) vestrorū(m) deus abraam ℈ deus isaac ℈ deus iacob misit me ad vos. Hoc nomē(n) mihi est in eternū(m): ℈ hoc memoriale meū(m) ī(n) g(e)n̄(er)atiō(n)e ℈ g(e)n̄(er)atiōnē(m).* The Clementine text is as follows: *Dixit Deus ad*

[8] *The Homilies of Aphraates, edited from Syriac manuscripts of the fifth and sixth centuries in the British Museum, by W. Wright*, p. ܟܚ. The passage is lacking in Wright's index of Scriptural quotations.

The Jacobite vocalization of the London and Paris Polyglotts is ܐܶܗ̇ܝܶܐ and ܐܶܗ̇ܝܶܐ ܕܐܶܗ̇ܝܶܐ, while the Urûmia edition points the same syllables with (Nestorian) Zeqâfa; that is, the traditional vocalization both east and west is a constant *a*. Some manuscripts of the lexical works of Bar Ali and Bar Bahlul insert a helping vowel, "ܐܶܗ̇ܰܝܶܐ" (Payne Smith, col. 46); but see Duval's edition of Bar Bahlul, col. 45. In no case, however, should the phrase be vocalized ܐܶܗ̇ܝܶܐ ܐܰܚ̇ܙ ܐܶܗ̇ܝܶܐ, as Holzinger, *Exodus*, p. 7.

Moysen: EGO SUM QUI SUM. Ait: Sic dices filijs Israel: QUI EST, misit me ad vos. Dixitq. iterum Deus ad Moysen: Hæc dices filijs Israel: Dominus Deus patrum vestrorum, Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, & Deus Iacob misit me ad vos: hoc nomen mihi est in æternum, & hoc memoriale meum in generationem & generationem. The Antwerp Polyglott, except in spelling *hæc* and *æternum*, conforms to the Complutensian. The Paris Polyglott follows the Antwerp in all but the last clause, where for *in generatione et generationem* it has only *in generationem*. Walton's Polyglott agrees entirely with the Clementine edition. The additional variants exhibited by manuscripts and editions of the Vulgate recorded by Vercellone[9] are: in vs.[14a], *Dixitque* for *Dixit; Dominus* for *Deus;* in [14b], *ait* omitted; in [15], *iterum Dominus* for *iterum Deus*. Of these only the second variant is exhibited by more than one or two unimportant manuscripts. Codex Amiatinus has *vestrum* for *vestrorum*. Almost all manuscripts and printed editions, according to Vercellone, support the Complutensian against the Clementine in the reading *et Deus Isaac*, while a few manuscripts omit the conjunction before both *Deus Isaac* and *Deus Iacob*. Vercellone's testimony regarding the variant *in generationem — in generatione* is somewhat vague, but the Complutensian reading *in generatione et generationem* would seem to be the best supported. It is not possible, from the unsystematic summing up of Vercellone's collations, to determine exactly the readings of certain manuscripts throughout the two verses. But there can be little doubt that the text of the Complutensian for Exodus 3[14 f.] is in all respects the best supported tradition of the Latin of Jerome.

Before considering the relation of Jerome's version to the Hebrew expressions אהיה אשר אהיה and אהיה, we should notice the freedom with which, here as elsewhere, while tolerably true to his original, he varies the Latin for stylistic reasons in cases where he must of necessity have had the same Hebrew. ויאמר is rendered *dixit* in vs.[14a], *ait* in [14b], and *dixitque* in [15]; כה תאמר is rendered *sic dices* in [14], and

[9] *Variae lectiones vulgatae Latinae Bibliorum editionis*, Rome, 1860–1864.

haec dices in [15]; זה שמי is *hoc nomen mihi est*, but זה זכרי is *hoc memoriale meum*. Under the circumstances we are not warranted in assuming that he had ואלהי יצחק against the Masoretic אלהי יצחק, or לבני ישראל in vs.[15] against the Masoretic אל בני ישראל. And whatever be the authentic Hieronymic text of the last clause of vs.[15], we need not look beyond the לדר דר of our Masoretic text for the underlying Hebrew. I suspect, however, that the best Vulgate reading transmitted to us, *in generatione et generationem*, has resulted from original INGENERATIONEMGENERATIONEM = לדר דר.

Turning to the renderings *Ego sum qui sum* and *Qui est misit me ad vos*, we must notice, in the first place, that they are not original with Jerome. It is a mere coincidence of grammatical parts of speech that *Ego sum qui sum* appears to be nearer to the Hebrew אהיה אשר אהיה than does the Greek ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν; as a matter of fact it is farther from the Hebrew. Both of the Vulgate clauses were adopted by Jerome from the Old Latin usage, based, of course, upon the Greek text alone.

The following sources for the reconstruction of the "Old Latin" of Exodus 3[14] were enumerated by Sabatier.[10] I cite the quotations of the Fathers, and for convenience of reference give the volume (Roman numerals) and column (Arabic numerals) of Migne's *Patrologia Latina* where each quotation may be found: *Ego sum qui sum*, Novatian, *De trinitate* (iii. 920); *Ego sum qui sum* and further on *Ego sum qui sum semper*, Phoebadius Aginnensis, *Contra Arianos* (xx. 24); *Ego sum qui sum. . . . Haec dices filiis Israel, Misit me ad vos is qui est*, Hilary of Poitiers, *De trinitate* i. 5 (x. 28); *Ego sum qui sum*, id. i. 6 (x. 28); *Ego sum qui sum. . . . Sic dices filiis Israel, Misit me ad vos is qui est*, id. iv. 8 (x. 102); *Dixit autem Dominus ad Moysen, Ego sum qui sum. Et dixit, Sic dices filiis Israel, Qui est misit me ad vos*, id. v. 22 (x. 144); *Misit me ad vos is qui est*, id. xii. 24 (x. 447); *Dixit Dominus*,

[10] *Bibliorum sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae seu vetus Italica, et caeterae quaecunque in codicibus mss. et antiquorum libris reperiri potuerunt*, Paris, 1751.

Ego sum qui sum. Dices, Qui est misit me, Ambrose, *Epistola viii* (xvi. 953); *Ego sum qui sum*, id. *Enarratio in Psalmum xxxvi* (xiv. 1054); *Ego sum qui sum. . . . Misit me qui est*, Augustine, *Tractatus ii in Joannis evangelium* (xxxv. 1389); *Ego sum qui sum. Haec dices filiis Israel, Qui est misit me ad vos*, id. *Sermo vi* (xxxviii. 61); *Dices itaque filiis Israel, Qui est misit me ad vos*, id. *Sermo vii* (xxxviii. 63); *Ego sum qui sum. Et dices filiis Israel, Qui est misit me ad vos*, Ferrandus, *Epistola ad Reginum* (lxvii. 944). Sabatier mentions further, *Et dixit Dominus ad Moysen, Dic filiis Israel*, Hilary, *In Psalmum cxviii* (ix. 615); and *Vade, dic filiis Israel, Qui est misit me*, Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam prophetam*, cap. lii (xxiv. 518); but the former is beside our point, and as regards quotations by Jerome, it would perhaps be chronologically more pertinent to cite *Qui est me misit, Epistola xv* (xxii. 35). To the above citations should be added the text of the sixth century Lyons manuscript published by Robert,[11] *Et dixit Deus ad Moysen, Ego sum qui sum. Et dixit, Sic dicis*[so] *filiis Istrahel, Qui est misit me ad vos;* and the passage in the metrical Heptateuch of Cyprianus the Gallic poet, who wrote in the early part of the fifth century and everywhere employs a pre-Hieronymic version,[12]

> *Salvator talia iungit:*
> *Ille ego sum qui sum, sic dices, et super astra*
> *Qui viget, estque deus vestrorum a stirpe parentum.*
>
> (Exodus, lines 167 ff.)

It may be questioned whether certain of the Fathers cited were not acquainted with and employing the Vulgate version, and some of the citations may owe their present form to corruption of the patristic text in the direction of the Vulgate. Still, a fair proportion of them will certainly preserve pre-Hieronymic readings. So that we may reasonably assume that the common Old Latin text of our verse

[11] *Version latine du Pentateuque antérieure à Saint Jérome*, Paris, 1881, pp. 53 f., 168.

[12] See the discussion of Peiper, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. xxiii. pp. xxv f.

ran as follows: *Dixit* (or *Et dixit*) *deus ad Moysen, Ego sum qui sum. Et dixit, Sic* (or *haec*) *dices filiis Israel, Qui est misit me ad vos.*[13] This Latin is easily derived from the Greek. *Qui est* is ordinary Latin for ὁ ὤν,[14] and while *Ego sum qui sum* is perhaps more naturally interpreted *It is I that am* than *I am he that is*, the same is true of the Greek, as Greek, with the personal pronoun expressed.[15]

Ego sum qui sum and *Qui est misit me ad vos* being derived from the Old Latin and historically based upon the Greek, the question we have to face is not whether they could or could not by any possibility be derived from the Hebrew, but merely whether they could in case of need be reconciled with the Hebrew. For generations these striking texts had been made the basis of theological speculation and demonstration. Had Jerome desired to depart from the common Greek and Latin wording of the passage (which of course was not the case), he lacked the independent Hebrew scholarship which would enable him to do so without a well-defined Jewish tradition to occasion and justify the departure. But Jewish tradition, so far as concerned the

[13] There is no more reason for Sabatier's taking into his reconstructed text of vs.[14a] *Dominus* of Hilary, *De trinitate*, v. 22, than there would be for inserting *Dominus ad Moysen* in vs.[14b], after that author on Psalm 118.

[14] Compare Tertullian's rendering of Apoc. 1[8], *Adversus Praxeam*, cap. xvii (Migne, ii. 199).

[15] Of course, *I am he that is* is the unmistakable intent of the Greek in this passage; that is, ὁ ὤν is the logical predicate, not the subject. A less ambiguous reproduction of the sense of the Greek would have been *Ego sum is qui est.* So the Hexaplaric Syriac has ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܗܘ ܐܝܬ and ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܗܘ ܐܝܬ ܕܫܕܪܢܝ; see Ceriani, *Pentateuchi Syro-Hexaplaris quae supersunt*, pp. 137 *f.*; Lagarde-Rahlfs, *Veteris Testamenti Graeci in sermonem Syriacum versi fragmenta*, p. 52; and compare the quotation in the scholion of Jacob of Edessa published by Nestle, *ZDMG*, vol. xxxii. p. 490. Similarly, the Ethiopic: *ănă wĕ'ĕtū zāhălō* (*I am he that is*) and *zāhălō fănăwănī* (*he that is has sent me*); see Dillmann's *Octateuchus Aethiopicus*, p. 100.

A third interpretation of *Ego sum qui sum*, as *I am that I am*, in which *sum* is a copula and nothing more, is quite outside of the intent of the Latin, as it is impossible in the case of the Greek. *Qui est* of [14b] is a sufficient demonstration of the fact. Our familiar English *I am that I am* represents the Latin no more properly than it does the Greek or the Hebrew, and it is high time the expression disappeared from scientific usage.

construction and literal interpretation of the text, and not merely a more or less free speculation as to its basis and import,[16] was able to dodge the issue by rehearsing the expressions as the longer and shorter forms respectively of a divine proper name. And in fact there can be little doubt that had Jerome not found the Greek and Latin before him, he would, in spite of Aquila and Theodotion, have transferred the Hebrew vocables bodily into his own version, as did Targum Onqelos and the Peshiṭa.[17] Jerome

[16] So the Babylonian Gemara, *Berachoth* 9*b*: "אהיה אשר אהיה.—The holy One, blessed be he, said unto Moses, Go and say unto Israel, I have been (והייתי) with you in this bondage: I will be (אהיה) with you in the (future) bondage of the kingdoms (מלכיות). And he (Moses) spake before him, Lord of the world, sufficient unto the hour is the evil thereof! The holy One, blessed be he, said unto him, Go and say unto them אהיה שלחני אליכם." Cf. *Shemoth Rabba*: "ויאמר אלהים אל משה.—Rabbi Abba b. Mamal said, The holy One, blessed be he, said unto Moses, Thou seekest to know my name: according to my acts am I designated; sometimes I am called אל שדי, at other times צבאות, at others אלהים, at others יהוה. When I judge mankind, my name is אלהים; when I make war upon the wicked, my name is צבאות; when I bear with the sins of men, my name is אל שדי; and when I shew mercy upon the world, my name is יהוה; for יהוה is but the symbol of mercy, as it is written יהוה יהוה אל רחום וחנון (Exodus 34[6]). So that my name is אהיה אשר אהיה because of my acts. Rabbi Yiṣḥaq says, The holy One, blessed be he, said unto Moses, Say unto them, What I was in the past, that I am at present and will be in the future (אני שהייתי ואני הוא ואני הוא שכשיו ואני הוא לעתיד לבא); therefore אהיה occurs three times (in this passage). And further: אהיה אשר אהיה.—Rabbi Jacob b. Rabbi Abina, on the authority of Rabbi Hûna of Sepphoris, said, The holy One, blessed be he, said unto Moses, Say unto them, I will be (אהיה) with them in this bondage, and in the bondage to which they go (וזו השלכין) I will be with them. He (Moses) spake before him, And am I to relate this to them?—Sufficient unto the hour is the evil thereof! He said unto him, Nay, thus (only) shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, אהיה שלחני אליכם; unto thee I make (the future) known, not unto them."

A radically different elaboration is that contained in the Targums Jerushalmi I and II, which connects אהיה with the act of bringing into existence, or creation.

[17] Among the ten Hebrew names of the Deity which Jerome enumerates in one of his letters to Marcella (Migne, xxii. 429) is ESER IEIE. The citation is from memory, and knowing his Latin text better than his Hebrew, he obtains the latter by what he assumes to be a re-translation of the former. He proceeds to explain that the name is the *Qui est* of Exodus 3[14], but evidently forgot that the Hebrew had no אשר at this point. Of course the citation is worthless as a witness to the Hebrew text of his day

is therefore not engaged in a free translation of Hebrew prose at this point, but imagines he is perpetuating the Greek exposition of the (so to speak, etymological) significance of the proper names אהיה אשר אהיה and אהיה. That the former of these offered no obstacle, *prima facie*, to the perpetuation of the formula *Ego sum qui sum* is self-evident: the Imperfect of a Hebrew verb occurred often enough with present signification. אהיה would, of course, not be the same person as *Qui est;* but an interpretation, if it is to be one, must make sense, and *Ego sum misit me* is so palpably close to nonsense that the alteration of the Old Latin in that direction, on a mere point of the precise grammatical form of a proper name, was not to be thought of.[18]

Like the Greek, Jewish Aramaic, Samaritan, and Syriac versions made directly from the Hebrew, the Latin Vulgate offers no occasion for questioning that the Masoretic text of

(ESER IEIE = אשר יהיה, 3d person), but it does show clearly that his Jewish teachers, like the translators of the Targum, treated both expressions as names of the Deity.

As a genuine divine name, distinguished from mere circumlocutory epithets, and yet in no way related to the tetragrammaton, אהיה אשר אהיה appears in the Jerusalem Gemara, *Megilla* 71 *d*, and in the Babylonian Gemara, *Shebu'oth* 35 *a*. For its potency as a divine name, the phrase (or some corruption of it) was also employed in incantations, especially in later times, and that even among the Mohammedan Arabs; cf. Goldziher, *ZDMG*, vol. xlviii. pp. 359 f. Already in *b. Baba Bathra* 73 *a*, there is a sailors' yarn about a perilous wave being laid low by means of missiles on which was engraved, אהיה אשר אהיה יה יהוה צבאות אמן אמן סלה.

[18] *I am hath sent me unto you* is a specialty of our own language, and a favorite one. Watson, in his translation of Hilary's *De trinitate* (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series, vol. ix.), renders the Latin *Misit me ad vos is qui est* of iv. 8 with *I am hath sent me unto you*, after the King James version. Similarly, in Fremantle's edition of Jerome's letters (*ib.* vol. vi.), *Qui est me misit* of Letter xv (Migne, xxii. 35) is rendered *I am hath sent me*. Contrast the Wycliffite versions of Exodus 3[14].

A proceeding somewhat analogous to Jerome's is that of Parisot, who, in the Latin translation of Aphraates's quotation above-mentioned (*Patrologia Syriaca*, Part i. vol. i. col. 791), makes the author adopt the formula of the Vulgate, *Ego sum qui sum*, whereas Aphraates quotes the Hebrew vocables of the Peshiṭa version as he would a proper name, with no interpretation whatever.

Exodus 3[14 f.] goes back beyond the middle of the third century B.C. (the commonly accepted date of the Alexandrian translation of the Pentateuch into Greek) to some point prior to the final breach (whenever it may have occurred) between the Samaritan and Jerusalem communities.[19]

Our next step is to determine the meaning of the language of the text. This task is not a theological one, nor yet an historical one, but purely linguistic. As Hebrew, the phrase אהיה אשר אהיה (and the same is true of the following אהיה שלחני אליכם, in vs.[15]) can have only one, definite meaning, or one of several just as definite meanings. The context may be needed to determine which particular one of several meanings offered by the language we are to adopt, but the meanings from which the selection is made must be yielded by the language itself. And while a word may be used in pregnant fashion with allusion to a known circle of ideas, such connotation must be substantiated by more than assertion, and cannot in any case be intelligently discussed until the primary denotation has been grasped. Needless to say that the contribution of this or that interpretation to the requirements of a given theory of the development of the religion of Israel, can have no bearing upon the question. Even the renderings of the ancient versions and the exegesis based upon them, are in this case beside the mark: אהיה is a common Hebrew word, and the construction אהיה אשר אהיה is, as we shall see, a

[19] According to Josephus, about 333 B.C. "Ueber die Entstehung des samaritanischen Schismas giebt es nur einen Bericht, den bei Jos. ant. XI. 7[2] 8[2-4], und der ist falsch" (Hölscher, *Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit*, p. 37). That it is our only account is quite true. Nehemiah 13[28 f.] does not profess to relate to such an episode, and cannot relate to it, if only for the circumstance that the cleavage was not consummated till after the Pentateuch had been both compiled and domesticated. But it does not follow that the statement of Josephus is therefore in its entirety fictitious. How the fact that the schism synchronized with Alexander's conquest could be derived from a "false exegesis" of Nehemiah 13[28 f.], is not apparent. Josephus's statement on that point may or may not rest on good tradition; that it does not, is not demonstrated by his erroneous application of the Nehemiah passage. For the rest, Hölscher's own determination of the date of the schism, by means of the indirect evidence of the combined prophecies of Isaiah 56–66, as soon after the punitive expedition of Artaxerxes Ochus, does not materially conflict with that furnished by Josephus.

XUM

not unparalleled Hebrew construction. The versions have rendered us their only possible service: they have borne their testimony to the integrity of the Hebrew text from the third century B.C. to the present time.

The clauses just mentioned, אהיה אשר אהיה and אהיה שלחני אליכם, are the only parts of the text that present any difficulty and about the interpretation of which there is dispute. The second of these clauses can be dismissed with a few words. Whatever may be the literal meaning of the word אהיה, in this sentence it is in the nominative case, subject of the verb which follows it, and therefore a substantive. Since, moreover, the word is in itself a verb in the first person singular of the Imperfect tense, as a substantive it cannot be an appellative, but must be a proper name. And while a proper name may have a transparent etymology, it is not permissible to drag its etymology into the structure of the sentence in which it occurs. We neither interpret nor render וילך נתן אל ביתו of 1 Samuel 12[15], *And gave went to his house.* The question as to the origin of the name and the reason for its bestowal may be legitimately raised, but not in the act of rendering a sentence in which it is already employed as such. So that the only permissible interpretation and rendering of the Hebrew sentence אהיה שלחני אליכם is *'Èhyèh hath sent me unto you.*

The case is different with regard to אהיה אשר אהיה. This expression necessarily constitutes a complete sentence, for it is all that follows the formula ויאמר אלהים אל משה. As one single proper name, *'Èhyèh-ashèr-'èhyèh*, it could constitute only one of two elements in the reply; another element, either a verb or a noun, would be required. We should have something like *'Èhyèh-ashèr-'èhyèh hath sent thee*, or *'Èhyèh-ashèr-'èhyèh is my name*, or *I am 'Èhyèh-ashèr-'èhyèh.* As surely, then, as we must refrain from translating the word אהיה in vs.[14b] must we face the problem of the interpretation of the sentence אהיה אשר אהיה in [14a]. Nor can the first element of the expression be constituted a proper name, while the remaining אשר אהיה is treated as a

separate, subordinate clause explanatory of the name.[20] To say nothing of the intrinsic absurdity of explaining a word that needs no explanation by repeating that same word, or of the unnatural construction of אשר involved, the identical remarks apply to the simple אהיה that have been passed upon אהיה אשר אהיה considered as a proper name: אהיה alone cannot constitute the sentence demanded by the introductory formula ויאמר אלהים אל משה.

What, then, is the meaning of the Hebrew sentence אהיה אשר אהיה?

The facts with regard to the literal rendering of this clause as Hebrew, no matter where or in what connection it might be found, were accurately set forth by Robertson Smith.[21] Nevertheless, recent commentators on the book of Exodus, and others who touch upon the subject, continue to tread, or to linger about, the path of error. A restatement of the case is therefore not uncalled for.

[20] So, after Ibn Ezra, Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs*[2], p. 72, note 2, "Bin — sintemal ich bin"; and after Wellhausen, Baentsch. Palpably absurd, however, the construction only becomes with the interpretation adopted by Marti, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion*[4], p. 61: "Ehjè, das heisst *ich bin*," is what the author of Exodus 3[14] made God cause Moses to teach the Hebrew-speaking people.

[21] See *Prophets of Israel*[2], pp. 386 ff. They were summed up, some 260 years before Robertson Smith, in the brief statement of Henry Ainsworth, "The Hebrew, *Ehjeh asher ehjeh*, properly signifieth, *I will be that I will be*," — *Annotations upon the second booke of Moses, called Exodus*, Reprint of 1639, p. 10 (first printed in 1617). Not so accurate, though possibly only because not so vague, are Luther and the Graecus Venetus.

Unfortunately, Robertson Smith acquiesced in the attribution of the expressions in question, together with the remainder of the section, to the original E source, and so was forced to twist his rendering into the requirements of the context, with the result that the substance of our passage is thus set forth: "The sense is . . . that what He will be to His people He will be, will approve Himself to be, without fail. The vagueness is inevitable, for no words can sum up all that Jehovah will be to His people; it is enough for them to know that He will be it (comp. Isa. lxiv. 3; Lam. iii. 23)." The unreality of this result is its sufficient condemnation.

Smith's conclusions had been previously published at greater length in an article "On the Name Jehovah (Jahve) and the Doctrine of Exodus III. 14," *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* for January, 1876, pp. 153 ff., at the close of which he connects אהיה of Hosea 1[9] with this passage. His views were restated immediately thereafter by Nestle, *Die israelitischen Eigennamen*, 1876, pp. 91 ff.

The Hebrew verb היה does not mean *to have being*. The Greek rendering of אהיה, ὁ ὤν, introduces a concept as foreign to the Hebrew mind as it is to the Hebrew verb. The Hebrews, as such, never attained to the conception of a Universe (as distinguished from a World), or of Infinity, or of one First-cause, or of an underlying Substance or Reality; nor yet to that of the abstractest of them all, absolute and pure Being. Furthermore, the Hebrew verb היה does not mean *to exist*, except within certain limitations and in the French sense of the term. היה is *to come into existence, to happen, to occur; to become, to take on* (*an attribute*), *to enter upon* (*a state*), *to constitute* (*somewhat*). Secondarily, since *had become* = *was*, and *will become* = *will be*, and *having become* = *being* (Gerund), היה comes to be employed for *to be* in the sense of the *copula*, and even in the sense of *actuality*, but only with reference to past or future time or in speaking of the copulative relation or the predication itself; and it is so employed for the very reason that the Hebrew language ordinarily employs no verb at all to express the idea of being, and so cannot explicitly throw its thought into past or future time, or advert to the thought itself, without recourse to the verb *become*. Accordingly the Hebrew equivalent of *I exist*, if the occasion for such a declaration could be conceived of by the Hebrew mind, would be not אהיה, but הייתי (Perfect), *I have come into existence and so am here*. On the other hand, *I am* (*something*) as distinguished from *I exist*, would not make use of the verb היה at all. *I am* can only be expressed by means of a nominal sentence. The Hebrew for *I am* (*so and so*) is אני followed by the predicate noun (or adverb). Thus the Hebrew for *I am that I am* is not אהיה אשר אהיה, nor does it differ from that clause only in the matter of the tense of the verb. A nominal instead of a verbal sentence is required. The Hebrew for *I am that I am* is אני אשר אני, just as *I am he* is אני הוא. The Imperfect אהיה can only mean *I am in the act of becoming*, or *I will become*, or *I will be*,[22] — which, in the looseness of Hebrew

[22] In order not to confuse the issue by distinctions of Mode foreign to the Hebrew, I adhere to the form of the English Future employed by Robertson Smith.

thinking, amount to pretty much the same thing. In no case can it be rendered *I am*. And while the thought *I will exist* (*abide, in the future*) would be theoretically possible in the latest stage of Old Testament writing, it is impossible in this connection, with the predicate אשר אהיה immediately following it. אהיה in this sentence can only mean *I will be* or *become* (*something*); for of course *I will be* or *become* (*somebody*) is not a sensible alternative. Not merely the most natural, then, but the necessary construction of אהיה אשר אהיה is *I will be what I will be*. So much for the literal meaning of the Hebrew clause.

We have still the question as to the idiomatic or logical value of this tautological expression. And only at this point is it pertinent to consider the testimony of the parallels from the Old Testament, Neo-Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic which are cited by Lagarde,[23] Robertson Smith,[24] and Grünbaum.[25] In doing so, the reader should bear in mind that no number of parallels from other languages can affect the meaning of the Hebrew verb as determined above. Our own detailed enumeration of the parallels may be safely and advantageously limited to those of the Old Testament; there are enough of them to determine the point at issue, and we shall thereby escape the influence of any turns of thought which may be peculiar to later times and other languages. The Old Testament parallels adduced by the writers mentioned are: Gen. 43[14] Ex. 4[13] 16[28] 33[19] Deut. 9[25] 1 Sam. 1[24] 23[13] 2 Sam. 15[20] Ez. 12[25] Zech. 10[8] and Esther 4[16], to which may be added 2 Kings 8[1]. Of these, 1 Sam. 1[24], ודנער נער, has nothing in common with the construction we are discussing. Neither has Zech. 10[8] ורבו כמו רבו, if the current interpretation, *They shall be as many as they formerly were*, is the proper one. Deut. 9[25] ואתנפל לפני יהוה את ארבעים היום ואת ארבעים הלילה אשר התנפלתי, *And I prostrated myself before Jahweh the forty days and forty nights that I did*, is not exactly to the point, since there is nothing indefinite

[23] *Psalterium juxta Hebraeos Hieronymi*, pp. 156 ff.
[24] *Prophets of Israel*[2], p. 387.
[25] *ZDMG*, vol. xxxix, pp. 564 f.

about the complement of the verb.[26] The rest of the passages it will be convenient to cite in the following order: *a*) Passages with the Perfect in the relative clause: Gen. 43[14] ואני כאשר שכלתי שלתי, *And as for me, howsoever I must be bereaved, I shall be;* Esther 4[16] וכאשר אבדתי אבדתי, *And howsoever I must perish, I shall.* *b*) With the participle: 2 Sam. 15[20] ואני הולך על אשר אני הולך, (*Thou cam'st but yesterday, and shall I start thee traveling with us to-day,*) *with myself going where I am?* *c*) With the Imperfect in the relative clause: Ex. 4[13] שלח נא ביד תשלח, *Send by whatever hand thou choosest;*[27] Ex. 16[23] את אשר תאפו אפו ואת אשר תבשלו בשלו, *Bake whatever ye choose, and boil whatever ye choose;* Ex. 33[19] וחנתי את אשר אחן ורחמתי את אשר ארחם, *I will be gracious unto whomsoever I choose, and I will have mercy upon whomsoever I choose;* 1 Sam. 23[13] ויתהלכו באשר יתהלכו, *And they went roving wherever they chose;* 2 Kings 8[1] וגורי באשר תגורי, *And live temporarily wherever thou choosest;* Ez. 12[25] אדבר את אשר אדבר דבר, *I will speak whatever word I choose.* From the data of the Old Testament it is evident that this indefinite tautological construction was employed by the Hebrews, in reference to an ensuing event, *a*) with the verb in the Perfect, to indicate the subject's subjection to a necessary though unknown fate, and *b*) with the verb in the Imperfect, to indicate the subject's absolute control of his own action: the idiomatic value of היתי אשר הייתי, when spoken of future time, is *I shall be whatever I must;* the idiomatic value of אהיה אשר אהיה, which can be spoken only of future time, is *I will be whatever I choose.*

The language of Exodus 3[14-15] must accordingly be rendered as follows: [14a] *And God said unto Moses, I will be whatever I choose.* [14b] *And he said, Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel: 'Ehyèh* [אהיה = "I will be"] *hath sent me unto you.* [15] *And God said further unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say*

[26] Cf. Deut. 29[15]; Steuernagel, *HK*, p. 34, seems not to perceive the difference between את ארבעים היום and ארבעים יום.

[27] That is, *by me, if thou will;* not "*durch irgend einen anderen,*" as Kautzsch, § 155 *n.*, and Baentsch. That the correct interpretation is hard to reconcile with the anger of Jahweh in verse [14] indicates only that the two verses are not from the same hand.

unto the children of Israel: יהוה, *the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you. — This is my name forever, and this my designation for generation after generation.*

Now it will be immediately objected that this rendering of verse 14 yields no satisfactory sense, and is clearly out of harmony with the context. *I will be whatever I choose* not merely fails of constituting an adequate answer to the question propounded by Moses; it constitutes an entire change of subject, and actually assumes a question of a wholly different tenor. It is not the name, but the future of the Deity that is here the subject of speech. And though the latter subject is here mentioned for the first time, it is done with a tone of resentment and rebuke that implies inquisitive prying into that same subject on the part of somebody or other. אהיה אשר אהיה has in mind the query, מה תהיה, *What will you be?* Yet this query nowhere occurs, and the only occasion for asking it which appears in the whole course of the narrative is that furnished by the enigmatical, because unprecedented and catalectic, name אהיה, bestowed upon the Deity in 14b. We have here, then, the remarkable phenomenon of a supposed questioner being rebuked for impertinence and inquisitiveness before even the occasion for his question has been encountered. There is only one solution to this problem: אהיה אשר אהיה of 14a cannot have been written before אהיה of 14b; and since it does not follow that word in space, it must nevertheless have followed it in time; that is, 14a IS AN INTERPOLATION. It is a Midrashic gloss on 14b.

That 14a is interpolated can be shown quite independently of the above considerations. Verse 13 asks a question. Not 14a but 14b answers the question, and that not only in substance, but — what is more to the point — in form. 14b by its very language forces 14a out of the text. The question of 13 is מה אמר אלהם *What shall I say unto them?* Not 14a but 14b it is that begins with the appropriate correlative ויאמר כה תאמר לבני ישראל.

Nor should it be imagined that the introductory ויאמר of 14b is not weighty enough to introduce the reply of God to

Moses, and that something like the phrase "And God said unto Moses" of 14a is required. On the contrary, an immediate response by the other party to a dialogue is, if anything, more properly introduced by the simple ויאמר than by a more extended formula; cf. in particular, E in vss.4. 6. 12 of this chapter and in Gen. 22[1. 2. 7. 11. 12]; and of passages which Steuernagel assigns to E[2], Ex. 32[18] Num. 22[30b] 23[12].

That vss.[14] and [15] are swollen has already been perceived. Others have objected to the recurrence of the introductory ויאמר thrice in connection with an uninterrupted utterance of Jahweh. The common remedy has been to exclude vs.[15] from the original text. It has been argued that the word עוד, which accompanies the introductory ויאמר in vs.[15], betrays the interpolation. To my mind, the word עוד, if it does anything, authenticates vs.[15]. That verse contains an amplifying continuation of the statement made in 14b, and by means of the particle עוד it announces that it does so. ויאמר עוד does not mean *And he said again*, but *And he said further*, that is, *He went on to say*. Together with the following אלהים אל משה, it affords the necessary indication that the same person continues to speak who has just spoken; a mere ויאמר would have alternating reference. Nor is there any way by which the introduction of vs.[15] into our text can be explained, except to assume that it was part of the E document. Most scholars who exclude that verse assign it to Rje; one assigns it to Rd; and one to Rp. But a mere glance at vs.[16] shows that [15] cannot be the contribution of a redactor. Practically all of [15] is contained in [16], which latter belongs to J. Now, no redactor who had before him vs.[16] would of his own motion duplicate it with the verse immediately prefixed. The only way in which the presence of these two successive verses in this passage can be explained is by assuming that one of them came from one primary source, and the other from another primary source. Verse [15] cannot be from either Rje, Rd, or Rp, or from a later diaskeuast, but must have come in from the E document.[28]

[28] Wildeboer (*Die Litteratur des alten Testaments*, p. 138) suggested that vs.[15] can hardly belong to the E source, because it implies that the name

But if vs.[15] was in the E document, we have confirmation of the interpolation of [14a] in the particle עוד. Perhaps we ought not to go so far as to say that עוד could not possibly accompany the third of three occurrences of ויאמר and not the second, but such a style would certainly be most remarkable. That is, if [14a] were authentic, we should certainly have עוד with the ויאמר of [14b]. Furthermore, as suggested above, simple ויאמר has alternating reference; so that [14b] must have been immediately preceded by an utterance of Moses, in the original source. We may confidently maintain that the introductory phraseology of [14b] and [15] is sufficient of itself to require the exclusion of [14a] from the text of E.

Before proceeding further, we may summarily dispose of the one remaining hypothesis regarding the conflation of vss.[14-15], namely, that the entire vs.[14], [b] as well as [a], is interpolated or redactional.[29] The fatal objection to this hypothesis is that it creates vastly more difficulty than it removes. Upon that assumption, no part of the verse has any meaning whatever, and no possible ground for its insertion can be imagined.

Accordingly — disregarding for the moment the question

Jahweh was known to the Fathers, whereas P, who derived his notion from E, expressly makes the name to be revealed for the first time to Moses, the Fathers having known the Deity only by the name of *El Shaddai*. But both the name *El Shaddai* and the notion of the name *Jahweh* being here revealed for the first time (or indeed "revealed" at all) are peculiar to P. E furnished only the suggestion for the theory and practice of P. They occupy wholly different platforms. To P, it is the Deity revealing the most important of his attributes, his most holy name, to the favored of mankind; to E, it is the ancestral and national divinity — אלהים, "deity" *par excellence* — appearing to Moses on a particular occasion and, upon request, making known his identity by means of his proper name. Even P could not get along with merely the appellative *Elohim* for the whole period before the final revelation. And it is doubtful if even P would have understood what Carpenter means by "the revelation of Elohim being followed by that of Yahweh" (*Composition of the Hexateuch*, p. 203). What then, to the mind of E, *was* the name by which the god of Moses' fathers, spoken of in vs.[6], was alluded to in case of necessity, — by way of contrast to "the gods" (אלהים) of Josh. 24[2], for example? Or did he have no name?

[29] Carpenter and Harford assign it to Rje.

of the authenticity of the name אהיה in 14b — the text of E ran as follows:

"13 And Moses said unto God, Behold I come unto the children of Israel and say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you. Then will they say unto me, What is his name? What shall I say unto them? 14b And he said, Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel: אהיה hath sent me unto you. 15 And God said further unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel: יהוה, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you." Etc.

It is with this determination of the text that we must consider the question of the authenticity of the reading אהיה in 14b. We have seen that this reading is older than 14a and occasioned the latter's interpolation. How old is the reading? Does it go back to E? With 14a out of the way, there can be no manner of doubt that אהיה of 14b represents the corruption of an original יהוה.[30] The name of Israel's God was not אהיה, but יהוה. The name which from this point on appears from time to time in the E document is not אהיה, but יהוה. The name which still stands in vs.15, the author's own amplification of the statement of 14b, is יהוה. Furthermore, it is universally admitted that the E document, with its introduction of the proper name of the God of Israel at this point in the history, furnished the model for the procedure, and gave occasion for the theory, of the later priestly writer, who introduced the name יהוה in a special revelation to Moses in the passage preserved at Ex. 6[2], and who from that point on employed the name with greater uniformity than does the E document. The name which was disclosed to Moses at this point in the E narrative, as the writer of P understood it, was not אהיה, but יהוה. Nor does P know anything of the disclosure of some explanation or origin of the name, besides the name itself. Of these

[30] So already Holzinger (*Exodus*, in *KHC*, p. 14), but on radically different and entirely erroneous grounds. Cf. also Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs*[2], p. 72, note 2.

facts there can be no doubt whatever. So that the E document (or, if we prefer, the E passage in the JE document), as P had it, read at this point the name יהוה and no other. אהיה has, therefore, been substituted for an original יהוה in the text of 14^b, and the substitution took place after P, — or at any rate, in a manuscript which did not influence the text P used. Certainly the reading אהיה, if it existed anywhere, was not at all current in P's day; for it is not one which could long remain unnoticed, — witness the interpolation of 14^a. When, moreover, we consider that *our* E (or JE) comes to us from the same priestly circles in which P arose, the conclusion that אהיה was not introduced into the text of E until after P was written, becomes all but necessary. On the whole, I think it will not be disputed that we are justified in maintaining that, on the evidence of P, the reading אהיה for יהוה in the passage which now constitutes Ex. 3^{14b} was not in existence about the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

On the other hand, our study of the history of the text has shown that, on the evidence of all the versions and the Samaritan tradition, the reading אהיה was prevalent some considerable time before the middle of the third century B.C. And even disregarding the Samaritan tradition entirely, on account of the uncertainty which attaches to the chronological value of its testimony, the mere fact that Alexandrian Greek and Masoretic Hebrew of Ex. 3^{14} derive from a common ancestor, requires us to push the date of the present reading in 14^b appreciably to the rear of the middle of the third century B.C. So that the *terminus ante quem* may in any event be safely set down as about the end of the fourth century. Some time between 500 and 300 B.C., then, אהיה was substituted for יהוה in the text of Ex. 3^{14b}. A more precise determination of the date of this substitution cannot be reached without concerning ourselves with the question of the reason for it.

That there was a reason for it, and that the alteration of the text was the result of design and not the result of accident, cannot be doubted. For assuming — what seems quite

impossible — that a scribe did actually slip into reading or writing אדוה for the name of the national God in copying a manuscript, the slip could not fail of unceremonious correction upon the very first reading of his copy, since the strangeness of the text must have compelled attention, and any scruples about correcting so palpable a blunder could have been summarily removed by a glance at another manuscript. In fact, so great must have been the temptation to correct the reading אדוה, that we may question whether, in spite of the deliberate intent which marked its introduction, it would have survived, had it not been hedged about by the interpolated אדוה אשר אדוה which followed hard upon its heels, not improbably with that very danger in view.[31]

The motive for the alteration of the name יהוה to אדוה in Exodus 3^{14b} is not far to seek. It can have been only one: to prevent the utterance of the ineffable name.

The increasing awe with which, under the influence of the Priest Code and the accomplished centralization of the cultus, all things came to be regarded that pertained to the person of the holy God, resulted, toward the end of the period whose bounds we have determined (500–300 B.C.), in the entire abandonment of the public use of his most holy Name

[31] A somewhat similar, though inverted, case of one corruption of the text following upon another from much the same motive as here, is that which continues to perplex critics in 1 Sam. 3^{13}. There the original reading was that which I append (in the larger type):

והגדתי לו כי שפט אני
את ביתו עד שולם
בעון אשר ידע כי מקללים [א]להי[ו]ם
בניו ולא כהה בם

The words printed in small type, *on account of the sin which need not be mentioned* (literally, *which he knows*), were put upon the margin to be substituted for the blasphemous expression כי מקללים אלהים בניו in reading the text aloud. But being written into the column in a later manuscript, their object was defeated, and the old difficulty had to be met again, this time by truncating אלהים to להם, the present Masoretic text, which is opposed alike by the Alexandrian Greek and by the Rabbinical tradition. The Greek *ἐν ἀδικίαις υἱῶν αὐτοῦ* preserves a different form of the marginal euphemism = בעון בניו.

outside of the one central sanctuary at Jerusalem. It was no longer the name of a national divinity, acquaintance with which was as old as the relation to the person bearing it. It was the very real name of the God of all the world, like his holy Law by special act of grace revealed to Moses for the salvation of his people. Before yet they had built a fence of tradition about the written law to prevent any approximation to the violation of its precepts, the Jews ceased to utter the divine name, lest they approach ever so remotely the bounds of sacrilege.[32] The mere utterance of the name, apart from perjury, cursing, or blasphemy, was indeed at no time a criminal offense;[33] but it soon came to be considered a ritual sin, punishable by God though not by man.[34] And though this sin, like other sins, was no doubt sometimes committed, it was not a thing to be authorized or tolerated in connection with the Sabbath functions of the synagogue.

From the statements of Philo and Josephus it is evident that the practical disuse of the name יהוה lay so far behind them that they had not the slightest idea that there ever was a time when the name was less sparingly employed than in their own days.[35] In some of the later writings of the Old

[32] Cf. Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonai und seine Geschichte*, pp. 71 f. Jacob, *Im Namen Gottes*, Berlin, 1903, p. 166, goes altogether too far when he carries this attitude back to the days of Ezekiel.

[33] According to *b. Aboda Zara* 17 *b*, under Roman rule in the second century A.D. Rabbi Ḥanina ben Teradion was burned at the stake, his wife executed, and his daughter condemned to a life of shame, for no other cause than that the Rabbi had pronounced the ineffable name in public hearing. But the ground alleged for the outrage is rejected even by those who accept as historical all the other details of the Talmudic story; cf. Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, vol. i. p. 400.

[34] Cf. Mishna, *Sanhedrin*, x. 1; Tosefta, *Sanh.* xii. 9 (ed. Zuckermandel, p. 433). In Mishna, *Berachoth*, ix. 5, there is no talk of the utterance of the word יהוה. The question there is merely whether one shall or shall not use the divine name in ordinary salutation (שואל את שלום). The salutations יהוה עמכם, יברכך יהוה, יהוה עמך, of Ruth 2[4] and Judges 6[12] (which were, as a matter of course, pronounced by the speakers אדני עמכם, יברכך אדני, etc.) are cited by those who prefer the good old religious forms — "Despise not thy mother when she is old" is quoted from Proverbs 23[22] — to the godless שלום עליכם of their own unregenerate days.

[35] Dalman, *l.c.* pp. 38, 42.

Testament — Chronicles, Daniel, Ecclesiastes, and an entire section of the Psalms — there is a marked avoidance of the name יהוה. This is, to be sure, of itself not very significant, except as it indicates the increasing preference for the term אלהים. It furnishes no evidence that when encountered or employed by these Old Testament writers, the name יהוה was not faithfully pronounced. Then, too, we know that in still later times יהוה, though never pronounced, was unhesitatingly written. But a comparison of Chronicles with the book of Samuel makes it almost certain that the Chronicler, at least, pronounced אדני even when he did write יהוה; for in reproducing his source he deliberately avoids the combination אדני יהוה of 2 Sam. 7 (which to him would have been אדני אדני[36]), writing for it now יהוה אלהים, now אלהים, now יהוה, and never once does he write אדני.[37] The most valuable and conclusive evidence, however, regarding the avoidance of the utterance of the name יהוה, is that furnished by the Alexandrian Greek version. By the time of the first translation of the Pentateuch into Greek, in the middle of the third century B.C., the custom of substituting another word for the proper name of the Deity in the reading of the Law was already firmly established, and the substitute employed was stereotyped and uniform. For there ought to be no doubt whatever that the word Κύριος was habitually employed by the readers of the Greek version, from the very first, wherever the original had יהוה,[38] and that this usage was derived from the settled custom among the Palestinian Jews of pronouncing the name אדני. Dalman[39] affirms that the Κύριος of our Greek manuscripts cannot be received as evidence for the early oral substitution of אדני for יהוה, since from the statements of Origen[40] and Jerome[41] it appears that

[36] Cf. Kittel, *PRE*³, vol. viii. p. 532.

[37] See Jacob, *l.c.* pp. 165 *f.*

[38] The few occurrences of אדני יהוה in the Pentateuch were variously treated in the Greek and may be disregarded.

[39] *l.c.* pp. 37 f.

[40] On Psalm 2, Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, xii. 1104.

[41] *Prologus galeatus*, and in the letter to Marcella referred to above, p. 121, note 17.

old Greek manuscripts exhibited the Hebrew characters יהוה, and not the Greek Κύριος, wherever the proper name occurred in the original. Assuming, however, that the statements of Origen and Jerome justify the inference that the original Greek manuscript did, like Aquila's version, employ that device (against which inference not a little might be said [42]), the fact remains that Hebrew יהוה in a Greek manuscript is as good evidence for the custom of substituting something or other for the authentic word as would be the reading Κύριος itself. Otherwise the Greek would have exhibited not the Hebrew characters, but the transliteration of the name in Greek characters, as in the case of other proper names; [43] and neither in extant Greek manuscripts nor in tradition is there the faintest trace of an original Ιαυη (or variant of it) [44] in the Greek version. But if the Hellenistic Jews from the very beginning substituted some word for יהוה in reading the Greek text, (1) we may be certain that it was the custom of the contemporary Palestinian Jews to do likewise in reading the Hebrew, and (2) we have no reason in the world for believing that the word which the Hellenistic Jews originally substituted was different from that which we find them automatically employing in the days of Philo, namely Κύριος. But if Κύριος was employed for יהוה among the Hellenistic Jews from the earliest times, אדני must have been antecedently so employed by the Palestinian Jews; for Κύριος [45] obviously reproduces the suffixless sense which אדני acquired — as Dalman himself has so ably shown — in the very act of being substituted for the name יהוה.

At least as early as 300 B.C., then, and most probably earlier, the utterance of the name יהוה was abandoned in the

[42] Cf. Kittel, *l.c.* pp. 530, 532.

[43] It would hardly have been bold enough to attempt a translation.

[44] ā (= ָה = ə) is in Hebrew a phase of *a*, whereas in Greek it is a phase of *e*; hence Μωυσῆς and Μανασσῆ. (Participles of לה verbs had doubtless ceased to be pronounced ֶה by that time.) In later times, when η had become ι and β had become υ, we have Ιαβε (Epiphanius and Theodoret). Origen's Ιαη probably omits the consonantal ו; he certainly does not intend יָהּ.

[45] Notice that it is not ὁ Κύριος, which is of secondary development.

Jewish synagogue. I say most probably earlier; for the phenomenon ought not to be isolated, and it will best be connected with the institutional innovations which followed immediately upon the publication and circulation of the Pentateuch.[46]

It was of course only in reading or quoting verbatim a writing which contained the name that a vocal device for the avoidance of its utterance would ordinarily be required. When one speaks of the God of the whole world as "God," one is not employing a surrogate for יהוה. A speaker would have no difficulty in leaving the name alone; the person of the Deity could be referred to in many other ways. And the Palestinian Jews, in their own utterances, did leave alone not only יהוה, but אדני too, when once the latter had become the synagogue surrogate for יהוה. On the other hand, mere reference to the *name* יהוה, though it would often occur, did not involve the quotation of the name. This distinction between reference to the person and reference to the vocable is important. In Lev. 24[11. 16] ויקב את השם and בנקבו שם are correlatives of נקב שם יהוה, not — it is to be noticed — of נקב יהוה.[47] Doubtless along this line lay the demarcation between the original use of אדני on the one hand, and of השם on the other, as surrogates for יהוה. The two terms may have been in part suggested, as Dalman observes,[48] by the existing phrases אדני יהוה and שם יהוה, — though it would

[46] The synagogue may have had its prototype among the learned in the Exile, but the institution itself is not to be dissociated from the Five Books of Moses. Cf. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*[3], vol. ii. pp. 428 ff.

[47] Geiger's view (*Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 274) that שם is the result of corruption of the text in all three cases, is not at all plausible. He makes the point that נקב is never employed with שם of the person cursed. But this begs the question at issue. The story of Lev. 24[10 ff.], if it means anything, means that the contentious half-breed blasphemed by making use of the name יהוה in cursing his antagonist. It is quite true that "השם ganz absolut für Gott zu setzen, ist durchaus unbiblisch." The conclusion is that it stands for God's name. The final בנקבו שם of v.[16], without the article, for *so soon as he employs the name* (already mentioned, and *scil.* in cursing) is not un-Hebraic. נקב in this section may very well be literally *to pronounce*, and yet the burden of the section be a law against blasphemy only; cf. Dalman, *l.c.* p. 44.

[48] *l.c.* p. 74.

seem that a suggestion for the use of השם in referring to "the name" was superfluous. But that the terms were logically interchangeable, or that the Jews in early times were guilty of the absurd Samaritan custom of reading השם where the person of the Deity is spoken of — even invoked — in the Old Testament, as Geiger maintained,[49] is not to be believed. Geiger says of the Talmudic evidence which opposes his view, "Erst spät (*j. Sanh.* 10, 1 [28 *b*], b. Pessachim 50 *a*, Kidd. 71 *a*) tritt die bestimmte Angabe auf, dass zwar יהוה geschrieben, aber אדני gelesen werde." But more telling than any "bestimmte Angabe" is the quiet implication of age-long usage involved in the following passage of the Jerusalem Talmud (*Megilla* 71 *d*): אילו שמות שאינן נמחקין הכותב את השם בארבע אותיות ביו״ד ובה״א באילף ובד״לת · או׳ · אל · אלהים · ו״ו. *These are the names which may not be erased: When one writes out the Name with four letters* (that is, does not write ה׳, for example), *and that whether with Yodh He* (that is, writing יהוה) *or with Aleph Daleth* (writing אדני); אל; אלהים; etc.[50] The Mishnic passages cited by Dalman,[51] *Yoma*, iii. 8, iv. 2, vi. 2, in which the High Priest is represented as addressing the Deity at the opening of his confessional prayer on the Day of Atonement with אנא השם, can scarcely mean anything but that the name יהוה was actually uttered by the High Priest, as Geiger was the first to admit.[52] Later, in the scholasticism of the Rabbis, the use of השם was doubtless somewhat extended. Yet it is hard to believe that even in the third or fourth century A.D. the

[49] *l.c.* pp. 262 ff. For the rest, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the Samaritan custom of substituting השם for יהוה in the reading of the Law — which custom seems not to have controlled the practice in every-day life — is of relatively late date, at the most no older than the Dositheian movement and the temporary *rapprochement* between Jews and Samaritans in the early part of the second century A.D. (cf. Hamburger, *Real-encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*, part ii. p. 1069). In that case we can understand the failure of the Samaritans to adopt a surrogate which to their Jewish mentors had long since become a proper name and grown almost as sacred as יהוה itself.

[50] This passage is mistranslated by Schwab, *Le Talmud de Jérusalem*, vol. vi. p. 218.

[51] *Worte Jesu*, p. 150.

[52] *l.c.* p. 263.

High Priest, had there been one, would have addressed the Deity as השם.[58] Possibly enough the rehearser of the Mishna may have substituted השם in relating the tradition. But we cannot be sure of it. For this term was certainly sometimes set down in manuscripts, both in Scripture citations and otherwise, when some more construable surrogate was actually spoken, merely to steer clear of the rule against the erasure of divine names, or to avoid the confusion of a less obvious written surrogate. The purport of this will appear more clearly as we proceed.

To return now to the expression אדוה in Ex. 3^{14b}. We said that this word represents the wilful alteration of original יהוה, and that the purpose of the alteration can only have been to prevent the utterance of the ineffable name. If our conclusion is justified, the alteration will fall into the period when the custom of avoiding the utterance of יהוה by the substitution of אדני was being inaugurated in the Jewish synagogue, sometime between the publication of the Pentateuch and the end of the fourth century B.C.

It needs little argument to show that an exceptional procedure in the case of the divine name in Ex. 3^{14b}, both as to the character of the surrogate employed and as to the projection of the surrogate into the text itself, was literally unavoidable.

The second of these points may be first disposed of. A simple rule to read אדני uniformly wherever יהוה was encountered in the text, required no manuscript notation in order to be remembered and obeyed. But an isolated divergence from the uniform practice, in connection with a particular passage, could hardly be trusted to the memory at a time when as yet the perfect mastery of the entire text of the Law was not a common feat. If it can be shown that an exceptional surrogate was required in this passage, I think it will not be disputed that its projection into the text was equally necessary.

[58] It is needless to say that the Jews did not hypostatize the name of God. Giesebrecht, *Die alttestamentliche Schätzung des Gottesnamens*, p. 44, has overworked the passages Ex. 23^{21} and Isa. 30^{27}.

Now it is to be noticed that Ex. 3^{14b} is the one passage in the Pentateuch where the substitution of אדני for יהוה was not merely glaringly inappropriate, but actually impossible. It is the one passage where the question, "What is the proper name of Israel's God?" having been formally asked is formally answered. Ex. 6$^{2\,f.}$ is far from being in the same case. Even to us who read the latter passage as part of the separate P document, its burden is manifestly not the identity of the name but the age of its revelation to mankind. We must not forget, however, that we are dealing with readers of the Pentateuch, not of the P document. To one who had perused or listened to the account of Ex. 3$^{13\,ff.}$, the phrase אני יהוה of Ex. 6^{2} could no more savor of a revelation of that name to Moses than would the several recurrences of that expression in the ensuing section or in the Holiness Code. To the mind of such a person, the statement of Ex. 6$^{2\,f.}$ could do no more than inform Moses that the name, which he (as well as the reader) already knew, was not known of old to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. These, he is told, knew the Deity only by the name אל שדי. The question of the identity of the antithetical term was not raised, though that term was formally alluded to. The pronunciation שמי אדני for שמי יהוה of 6^{3} introduced, it is true, an unmistakable solecism, but only an incidental one, such as occurred often enough elsewhere, — in Lev. 24^{16} for example. On the other hand, to permit the use of אדני in Ex. 3^{14b} in direct response to the question מה שמו of vs.^{13}, would have been to authorize an out and out, as well as a perilous, misstatement. When once the question had been squarely answered, the reader might be permitted to return to the customary אדני in vs.^{15}, but the immediate response of vs.^{14} could not employ it. The institutors of the custom of substituting אדני for the written יהוה in the reading of the Law desired to prevent the utterance of the sacred name; but they were very far from desiring to mislead the congregation into the belief that the word אדני, which was constantly heard in the lections, was itself the holy and ineffable name. Yet to

prescribe the use of אדני, in Ex. 3[14b] would be to encourage, if not indeed to confirm, such a belief; to put the case mildly, its effect would be to confuse the public mind. Nor, for the same reason, could any more general designation of the Deity do duty here. And to cause Moses to answer the question מה שמו with השם שלחני would be quite too absurd for the people of the times, though perhaps not for some of us. Here, for once, the utterance of the name יהוה could not be avoided.

Yet if the sacredness of the name was to be violated once periodically in every synagogue in the land, why not oftener, and elsewhere? In this situation there was but one alternative — an alternative that we shall see was habitually resorted to during the following centuries in similar case outside of the synagogue. It was to so mutilate the word in pronouncing it that the requirement of the rule against its utterance would be formally met, while at the same time what was actually uttered could not possibly be mistaken for anything but the representation of the tetragrammaton. This was habitually done in later times by exchanging one or two of the consonants of the sacred name, while maintaining intact its syllabic and vocalic cast. The term for this hybrid product in the Hebrew of the Rabbis was כְּנוּי. The word אהיה in Ex. 3[14b] is a כְּנוּי of יהוה.

Unfortunately the statement of fact contained in the last paragraph is in need of demonstration. The Rabbinical term כנוי is not ordinarily assigned this meaning when used in connection with a designation of the Deity, and it is far from being commonly admitted that the Jews in early times were accustomed to avoid the actual pronunciation of the divine name, in case of need, by means of this mechanical device.

The definition of כנוי given by Levy is "Beiname, Nebenbenennung";[54] by Jastrow, "by-name, surname, attribute, substituted word";[55] by Bacher, "eine umschreibende Benennung, im Gegensatze zum eigentlichen Namen Gottes, dem

[54] *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, vol. ii. pp. 350 f.
[55] *Dictionary of the Targumim*, etc., p. 633.

Tetragrammaton";[86] by Dalman, "Beiname, umschreibende Benennung."[87] None of these is a strictly accurate definition of the term כִּנּוּי.

Not a little confusion has been wrought in this matter by the repeated citation of the Arabic كُنْيَة, which has been customarily rendered "Beiname," "ehrendes Epitheton." But this rendering of the Arabic term is by no means comprehensive enough, and in any case not quite legitimate. *Surname* is only a secondary and applied meaning of كنية; and it is not even that, if we emphasize the prefix. The Arabic word properly means *surrogate*, and is primarily employed to designate a term which affects to veil an indecent or otherwise objectionable allusion. It then comes to be employed for any circumlocutory designation; and so passes at last to the stereotyped *surrogates* of individual names, such as *Abu Zaid*, "the Father of Zaid." But only in so far as such a designation is obviously used to the exclusion of the man's real name is it a كنية. Whether a word (which need not necessarily be a substantive) or a phrase is or is not a كنية depends upon its function and not upon its form; and the same element may be a كنية in one connection and not in another. To illustrate with a familiar case, "Peter" in the expression "Simon Peter" is a surname, but not a كنية, which it might be if used in avoidance of the name Simon.[88] For the rest, there can be little doubt that the root of the word is cognate to كَنَّ, *to disguise* or *conceal*.

The technical Neo-Hebrew word כִּנּוּי (frequently written כִּינּוּי) is a *nomen actionis* of Piel כִּנָּה, like דִּבּוּר *utterance*, from דִּבֵּר *to utter*; חִדּוּשׁ *innovation*, from חִדֵּשׁ *to innovate*; רִבּוּי *inclusion*, from רִבָּה *to include*; סִתּוּם *exclusion*, from סִתֵּם *to exclude*; פֵּרוּשׁ *the act of being exact* (in expression),

[86] *Terminologie der Tannaiten*, p. 85.

[87] *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, p. 192.

[88] See *Lisân ul 'Arab*, vol. xx. pp. 98 f. The lexicon of Golius (Leyden, 1653) defined the Arabic verb, "Appellavit sive signavit nomine per se significante *rem* aliam;" and the noun, "Metonymia, quum alio quàm suo nomine significatur res."

XUM

specification, from פָּרַשׁ *to be exact, to specify*. There is no question about the meaning of the Piel כִּנָּה. It is defined by Bacher, "auf verhüllende Weise ausdrücken, umschreiben."[59] The *nomen actionis* of this is accordingly, *the act of expressing-in-disguise;* which is the primary meaning of כנוי. This primary meaning is unmistakably retained in the Mishnic Text of *Tamid* vii. 2 (=*Sota* vii. 6), במקדש היו אומרים את השם ככתבו ובמדינה בְּכִנּוּיוֹ, *In the sanctuary they* (the priests) *were accustomed to pronounce the Name* (in benediction, Num. 6[24 ff.]) *as it is written; in the town* (that is, when they were abroad in the city of Jerusalem), *by disguising it.*[60]

Now just as our English word "expression" and the Neo-Hebrew word דִּבּוּר, from meaning originally *the act of expressing*, come to mean *the thing expressed*, so כִּנּוּי, from meaning *the act of expressing-in-disguise*, comes to mean *that which expresses-in-disguise;* or — to employ another term — from meaning *substitution* in the sense of *the act of substitut-*

[59] *l.c.* p. 83; cf. Levy, *s.v.* It is the word which recurs at the end of each article in the enumeration of the eighteen *Tiqqune Soferim* or euphemistical alterations of the Old Testament text recorded in the Jewish tradition: אלא שכינה הכתוב, *but the text disguises;* see Geiger, *Urschrift*, pp. 308 ff.; Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, p. 348.

[60] "Hier bedeutet כִּנּוּיוֹ seine — des Tetragrammatons — umschreibende Lesung אֲדֹנָי," says Bacher, after he has defined כנוי as "eine umschreibende Benennung [of God]." But, with all due respect to the commentators of the Middle Ages, how do we know that the Mishna has reference to אדני? The ordinary assumption is that by במדינה is meant, "when the priests are officiating in the synagogues of the country," in which case it is taken for granted they would make use of the synagogue surrogate of the name יהוה. But what evidence have we that the priests in their official capacity had anything to do with the functions of the synagogue, or that they were employed to "pronounce the benediction" there? The common residence of the priests was Jerusalem, and when the text speaks of the priests doing one thing in the מקדש and another in the מדינה, we have no reason for rendering otherwise than *in the temple* and *in the town* respectively. Nor can we render כנויו of this passage *its* (the name's) *surrogate;* for there never was a time when the name יהוה had only one כנוי, — decidedly not in the Mishnic period; cf. *Shebu'oth* iv. 13, *Sanhedrin* vii. 5. For the rest, it is important to notice that in the one passage where כנוי occurs with the possessive suffix of the third person singular, the supporters of the prevalent erroneous definition of the word are forced to admit that the suffix has reference to the name and not to the person of God.

ing, it comes to mean *substitution* in the sense of *the thing substituted*, — *surrogate*. These two senses, however, exhaust the lexical values of the word כנוי.[61] Any narrower definition of the word involves "false distribution."

Moreover, exactly as in the case of the Arabic term, whether a word or phrase is or is not a כנוי depends upon its function in actual use and in the conception of the speaker, and not at all upon its identity. One cannot affirm of any particular word in the lexicon that it is *per se* a כנוי. According to the commentary on Leviticus called *Sifra* (ed. Weiss, fol. 104 *c*), the text of Lev. 24[11] does not substitute ויברך for ויקלל as does the text of 1 Kings 21[13], ברך נבות אלהים ומלך, for the reason that "they do not put to death on the basis of a כנוי" (M. *Sanhedrin* vii. 5). That is, the verb ברך when employed as a euphemistic substitute for קלל is a כנוי. So the expression המקום, *the place*, may be a כנוי of the word אלהים; and אלהים in turn may be conceived of as a כנוי of the name יהוה.[62] After what has been said, it is needless to

[61] I refer, of course, to early times; by the grammarians of the Middle Ages the word is used for "pronoun"; cf. Buxtorf-Fischer, *s.v.* In Arabic grammar كناية is not exactly "pronoun" (as Caspari-Müller, § 34); the class consists of "certains mots d'une signification vague qu'on substitue à des expressions plus déterminées"; see De Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*,[2] vol. i. pp. 430, 434, vol. ii. p. 66; and cf. Wright-DeGoeje, *Arabic Grammar*, vol. ii. p. 125 C.

[62] In *Sifra*, on Lev. 19[12] (88 *c*), 24[11] (104 *d*), and in both Talmuds (*b. Sanhedrin* 56 *a*, *j. Sanhedrin* 25 *a*), all designations of the Deity other than יהוה are classed together as הכנויים, but that is merely in maintenance of the fiction that all other designations are but *surrogates* of the real name. So according to *b. Sanhedrin* 60 *a*, when the heathen Eglon, king of Moab, hears from Ehud דבר אלהים לי אליך he hears only a כנוי. In the Mishna כל הכנויים is used very differently (*She'buoth* iv. 13): (When witnesses are summoned with any of the expressions) "*I adjure you*," "*I enjoin upon you*," "*I bind you*," *they are obligated:* (if the adjuration be) *by* "*heaven*" *or by* "*earth*," *they are free;* (but if) *by* "*Aleph Daleth*" [that is, referring to אדני, but avoiding its pronunciation in this manner], *by* "*Yodh He*" [with similar reference to יהוה], *by* שדי, *by* צבאות, *by* חנון ורחום [Ex. 34[6]], *by* ארך אפים, *by* רב חסד, *or by any of the surrogates* (ובכל הכנויין), *they are obligated.* Whatever may have been the character of the "surrogates" alluded to, there is nothing in the Mishnic text to show that they were like רב חסד and the two preceding expressions. The interpretations "oder bei

point out that the noun כנוי stands in no particular relation to the designation of the Deity, any more than does the verb כִּנָּה.

We said that one cannot affirm of any word in the lexicon that it is or is not *per se* a כנוי. But there are certain vocables which have no place in the lexicon, of which this may be affirmed. These are meaningless aggregations of letters, which never perform any other office than that of serving as surrogates for other words. We may illustrate with Scotch and American "by gosh" for "by God"; this "gosh" is a כנוי in its own right. It is these כנויים of the "dummy" order, of which the Rabbinical literature has an abundant supply, that concern us particularly here.

We may limit our quotations to the two important passages of the Mishna, *Nedarim* i. 1, 2, and *Sanhedrin* vii. 5. The first will exhibit the manner in which these surrogates are formed by the mutilation of the word they replace, that is, by the change of certain of its consonants while preserving intact its syllabic and vocalic cast,[68] and will tell us explicitly that such formations are כנויים. The second passage will show that the name יהוה yielded surrogates for itself in precisely the same manner.

As the extremely condensed form of part of *Nedarim* i. 1, 2, makes a literal translation impossible, I quote the Hebrew: (1) כל כנויי נדרים כנדרים חרמים כחרמים ושבועות כשבועות ונזירות כנזירות . . . (2) האומר לחברו קונם קונח קונם הרי אלו כנויין לקרבן חרק חרק חרף הרי אלו כנויין לחרם נזיק נזיח פזיח הרי אלו כנויין לנזירות שבותה שקוקה נדר במותא הרי אלו כנויין לשבועה. That is, *All the surrogates employed in vows are as binding as the words they displace, likewise all those employed in bans, all those employed in oaths, and all*

sonst einem der Attribute" (Hoffmann), and "oder bei allen *anderen* Attributen" (Goldschmidt), both read the Babylonian Gemara (which itself confuses two entirely different principles) into the Mishna.

[68] Any disturbance of the vocalic cast of the word, in addition to the exchange of its consonants, renders it unrecognizable, and relegates it to the class of the כנוי כנויין, *surrogates of surrogates*, which are rejected by one school of Tannaites as beyond the pale of "Hebrew"; cf. *b. Nedarim* 10 *b*, *j. Nazir* 51 *d*.

those employed in Nazirite obligations. . . . If one say to his neighbor קונם, קונח, *or* קונם, *these are surrogates of* קָרְבָּן; *if he say* חרק, חרך, *or* חרף, *these are surrogates of* חֵרֶם; *if he say* גויח, גויק, *or* גויח, *these are surrogates of* נָזִיר;[64] *if he say* שקוקה, שבותה, *or* [. . . ? . . . .], *these are surrogates of* שְׁבוּעָה. The reading of the words נדר במותא, which I have left untranslated, is extremely uncertain. The above is the text of the separate Mishna editions; the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds have נדר במוהי, and Maimonides read נדר במוהא.[65] It seems to me plain that נדר is interpolated — it has no place in connection with "oaths" — and that the remainder of the clause is corrupted from a third כנוי of שְׁבוּעָה, probably מבותה. The Jerusalem Gemara on this paragraph of the Mishna adds the following כנויים: ערפין, ערקין, surrogates of עֲרָכִין; תמופה, תמרנה, תמוקה, surrogates of תְּמוּרָה; הנגר, הנדר, surrogates of הֶקְדֵּשׁ; תרופה, תרוצה, תרוקה, surrogates of תְּרוּמָה (*Nedarim* 36 *c*).[66]

The other passage, M. *Sanhedrin* vii. 5, relates to the judicial procedure in the case of a trial for the capital offense of blasphemy, as conducted in the bygone days when the Jewish state still existed and had the power of life and death: *The blasphemer is not guilty except he pronounce*[67] *the exact Name* (עַד שֶׁיְּפָרֵשׁ אֶת הַשֵּׁם). *Rabbi Joshua ben Qorḥa said: Throughout the examination of the witnesses it was customary to employ a surrogate* (כִּנּוּי), (as for example) "*May* יוסה *smite!*" *or* "(*He blasphemed*) יוסה." *When the trial was completed, however, they did not proceed to the execution upon*

[64] מודות of the text is a manifest corruption; cf. M. *Nazir* i. 1.

[65] See Petuchowski's edition of *Seder Nashim*, Berlin, 1902, p. 178, notes 33 f.

[66] The כנויים cited above form the subject matter of the text of Mishna and Talmud and so are necessarily ancient. As is well known, the spellings אולקא, אולדי, אולקי, אולדים, אולקים, not infrequently occur in early Jewish impressions for אלהים, etc.; so also יהוד for יהוה; cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, s.v. אלה, and the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. ix. p. 164. But these are doubtless relatively new devices to prevent the desecration of the printed name. On the other hand, אישתי ישר which occurs for אלהי ישראל in the formula of an oath in *j. Nedarim* 42 *c*, lines 10 f., is certainly an original Talmudic כנוי.

[67] In abuse of the Deity or in cursing his fellow; cf. p. 138, note 47.

the basis of the surrogate. But they caused everybody not concerned to leave the room, and asked the most prominent among the witnesses, saying to him, Repeat exactly (בְּפָרוּשׁ) *what thou didst hear. This he did. Then the judges rose to their feet and rent their garments, and never mended them thereafter.*[68] *And the second witness said, I too heard as he did. And the third said, I too heard as he did.*

I have left the vocable יוסה unpointed in both cases, because that is the way it was written, and the traditional pronunciation of it is neither here nor there. The vocalization is the vocalization of יהוה, which tradition has failed to transmit. The reading יוסה is that of the Jerusalem Talmud and is commonly admitted to be the original; the Babylonian Talmud has יוסי, which is manifestly a later conformation of the spelling to the familiar Rabbinical name יוֹסֵי, *Jose*, the hypocoristic form of יוֹסֵף, *Joseph*. יוסה is also the reading in the text of *Sifra* (104 *c*). The words יכה יוסה את יוסה, which I have construed as two separate examples, יכה יוסה and את יוסה, have hitherto been construed as constituting together one single example, "May יוסה smite יוסה!" with the result that from the earliest times they have thrown more darkness than light upon the Mishnic narrative. The Babylonian Talmud appends the Baraitha עד שיברך (=שיקלל) שם בשם, which it proceeds to interpret in the absurd sense that to be guilty a man must have cursed God by God. In speculating as to how this marvelous feat might be accomplished, the Gemara seriously asks whether it may be done by engraving the divine name upon the blade of a knife and with it piercing through another object upon which that name has been written, but concludes more sensibly by taking refuge in the text of Lev. 24[11], according to which the simultaneous utterance of the name and cursing (anybody) constitutes the blasphemy. The Gemara has certainly mistaken the intent of the Baraitha; עד שיקלל שם בַּשֵּׁם means that one is not guilty of blas-

[68] The Gemara explains that the witnesses refrained from rending their garments because they had already rent them once at the original hearing of the blasphemy.

pheming the name except he employ the vocable יהוה, which agrees entirely with the Mishna. On the other hand, a sentence in the Jerusalem Gemara upon this section shows clearly that יכה יוסה and את יוסה must be separately construed. The witness says (*j. Sanhedrin* 25 *a*), אותו השם שאמרתי לפניכם אותו קילל וכו קילל, *The identical name which I have spoken in your hearing, it he blasphemed, and by it he cursed.* Hebrew scholars will not find fault with the rendering of קלל by *blaspheme* in one phrase and *curse* in another. The important point is that we have two distinct phrases corresponding in their import to the two of the text. The only object of the verb יכה which would be in place in this example of the quoted malediction is the suffix of the second person singular, as in M. *Shebu'oth* iv. 13, יככה אלהים, *May God smite thee!* and כן יככה אלהים *Thus may God smite thee!*[69] Nor have we reason to be surprised at the asyndetic recording of the two examples; we need only compare the several series of examples in the passage quoted above from M. *Nedarim*. The two illustrations furnished by the text, יכה יוסה and את יוסה, are intended to cover the two forms in which it would be necessary to employ the divine name in giving and taking testimony at such a trial: as subject of the verb in quoting the blasphemous utterance, and as object of the verb in characterizing the deed. In both cases a כנוי such as יוסה was substituted for יהוה. If we point the proper name יְהֹוָה, the כנוי in this passage must be pointed יֹוסָה.[70]

The Mishna contains additional evidence that in the centuries immediately before and after Christ כנויים were

[69] The citation of these formulæ of the Mishna without the employment of a כנוי for either יככה or אלהים was not permitted in later times; see *b. Shebu'oth* 36 *a*.

[70] On this last point cf. Blau, *Altjüdisches Zauberwesen*, pp. 130 f. As a specimen of the havoc which may be wrought by construing all four words as a single sentence and adhering to the spelling of the Babylonian Talmud, we may cite the interpretation devised by Levy: *Jesus* (Christ) *is mightier than Joseph* (his father, and so by implication, than God)! See his *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, *s.v.* כנוי. For another fantastic interpretation (יוסה = *Zeús*) see Kohut, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. iii, pp. 552 ff.

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employed for the name יהוה which consisted of alterations of the name by the exchange of certain of its consonants. According to M. *Sanhedrin* x. 1 (*b.* xi. 1), "The following have no portion in the world to come: he who affirms that the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead is not derived from the Law, or that the Law is not of heavenly origin; and the Epicurean (freethinker). Rabbi 'Aqîba says, Also he that reads in exotic books and he that whispers over a wound, repeating 'I will put none of the diseases upon thee which I have put upon the Egyptians, for I am יהוה (pronounced אדני) that healeth thee' (Ex. 15[16])." To this declaration of Rabbi 'Aqîba which anathematizes such as practise sorcery, the Mishna appends the dictum of Abba Sha'ûl, a contemporary of Rabbi 'Aqîba, אף ההוגה את השם באותיותיו. The direct point of this sentence is plainly that the mere utterance of the genuine divine name is an offense for which the penalty is exclusion from the kingdom of heaven. In Tosefta, *Sanhedrin* xii. 9 (ed. Zuckermandel, p. 433), Abba Sha'ûl shares with Rabbi 'Aqîba the responsibility for the doctrine concerning sorcery, while the specification of the other offense comes first and is introduced with the anonymous הוסיפו, *they have added*, the language, however, being otherwise identical with that of the Mishna. It may be admitted that the extreme religious penalty was attached to the act of pronouncing the genuine divine name in the opinion of only a certain minority of Rabbinical authorities. But the question of the exact penalty for what was universally considered a grave religious offense, does not concern us here. Of greater importance is the phraseology in which the doctrine attributed by the Mishna to Abba Sha'ûl is couched. הגה is not a synonym of דִּבֶּר or אמר or קרא. The Old Testament usage is poetical and figurative, and, taken by itself, affords no idea of the precise prose signification of the word in such a connection as this. הגה is not *to utter*, nor *to rehearse*, nor *to read*, a word; but *to pronounce* the letters of a word, *to combine* the letters of a word *in speech*—we should say *to vocalize;* cf. the Syriac ܗܓܐ and the Arabic هجا. The clause of Abba Sha'ûl is

therefore to be interpreted, *Also he that pronounces (vocalizes) the Name with its own consonants.* The plain implication of this statement is that the pronunciation (vocalization) of the name יהוה was permissible provided it did not employ exactly the four consonants י, ה, ו, and ה. The alternative in the mind of the speaker was certainly not the employment of אדני, as is commonly supposed. The substitution of אדני is not the "pronunciation of the name יהוה" with any consonants whatever; the vocalization of the two terms is entirely different. In other words, this declaration of Abba Sha'ûl, upon the only rational explanation of its phraseology, practically tells us that it was customary, in and before the beginning of the second century A.D., to pronounce the name יהוה with substituted consonants; that is, to employ כנויים of the type indicated above as substitutes for it.

The first clause appended to the text of the Mishna in the Jerusalem Talmud is more germane to the subject than is the second. The brief Gemara reads, "Rabbi Mana said, After the manner of those swearing Samaritans. Rabbi Jacob bar Aḥa said, It is written with *Yodh He*, and it is read (נקרא) with *Aleph Daleth*" (*j. Sanhedrin* 28 *b*). The statement attributed to Rabbi Mana is manifestly a comment upon the text of the Mishna, since it consists of nothing but a dependent adverbial clause. And he rightly understood the Mishna to be treating of the secular use of the divine name: the Samaritans frequently employed the exact name; well behaved Jews made use of a כנוי. On the other hand, the statement attributed to Rabbi Jacob is an independent sentence which is entirely out of place in this connection and was originally concerned with a wholly different subject, namely with the synagogue "reading" of the name in the text of Scripture. נקרא is not a word to be used of a vocable uttered in oaths, adjurations, and unguarded conversation. Nor can we suppose that Abba Sha'ûl gave himself much anxiety over the possibility of the desecration of the name in the services of the synagogue or in the Scripture quotations of the pious.[71]

[71] The rule attributed to Rabbi Jacob bar Aḥa in *j. Sanhedrin* 28 *b* is

The Babylonian Gemara on this passage of the Mishna (*Sanhedrin* 101 *b*) is of the greatest significance, both for the support it brings to the present contention and for the light it sheds upon another subject no less important, namely the pronunciation of the name יהוה. It contains only a Baraitha, as short as it is weighty: תנא בנבולין ובלשון אנא. The printed texts of the Babylonian Talmud exhibit ענה for the last word; but the word was alphabetically listed as אנא in the (eleventh century) *'Arûch* of Nathan b. Yeḥiel,[73] and it is commonly admitted that the latter is the original reading, which has been corrupted to ענה in the manuscripts underlying the Bomberg and subsequent editions of the Talmud.[73] The meaning of the first two words of the Baraitha is, of course, perfectly plain: *It has been taught* (in limitation of the condemnation of the Mishna), *In the territory* (that is, outside of the central sanctuary at Jerusalem). But the last two words have hitherto defied successful interpretation.[74] It is customary to attempt the explanation of the word אנא by reference to the form אנה employed in the Samaritan Targum to render the Hebrew נקב of Lev. 24[11]. But this

found in entirely different contexts in the Babylonian Talmud, *Pesaḥim* 50 *a*, and *Qiddushin* 71 *a*. Both these passages present the rule in the form of an utterance of God in the first person, "The holy One, blessed be he, said, Not as I am written am I read; I am written with *Yodh He* and I am read with *Aleph Daleth*;" which is a fanciful elaboration of זה שמי לעלם of Ex. 3[15] with the last word pronounced לעָלָם. It should be noticed in passing that in none of these three passages where אדני is mentioned as the "reading" of יהוה, is there any talk of בנויים, or any hint that אדני was habitually spoken of in Talmudic times as a כנוי.

[73] See the Bomberg edition, Venice, 1531/2, fol. 4 *b*; Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, vol. i. p. 20; and cf. Buxtorf and Castell, *s.v.* שת.

[73] This corruption, as will appear, was probably not without design. Some persons seem to have understood the passage better than did the author of the *'Arûch*.

[74] Cf. Goldschmidt, *Der babylonische Talmud*, vol. vii, Berlin, 1903, p. 446, "jedoch bleibt der Ausdruck לשון ענה dunkel." Dalman (*Gottesname Adonai*, p. 50, note) rightly rejects the interpretations of the *'Arûch*, of Rashi, and of Levy, but the one he offers is equally unsatisfactory. He is of the opinion that אנא stands for אֲנָאָה, which in turn is a "Nebenform" of an assumed הֲנָיָה = "Das Lesen, Vokalisieren." In his more recently published *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Wörterbuch* he defines, "אנא *h.* das buchstäbliche Aussprechen"; but the Neo-Hebrew for this last is פִּרוּשׁ.

is to explain one mystery by another. Castell could do no more with Samaritan אגה than refer to עגה of our passage in the Babylonian Talmud, with the remark that from the Samaritans' employment of this word we may see how their hatred of the Jews did not prevent them from reading the Talmud and borrowing its vocabulary. Then, too, we have only to compare the Vulgate rendering of Lev. 24[11.16] to see that it is by no means self-evident that the Samaritan אגה is an exact synonym of Hebrew נקב,—to say nothing of the fact that we are not quite unanimous about the precise meaning of the Hebrew, or the circumstance that אנאה, as well as ברז, disputes with אגה the latter's place in the Samaritan Targum.[75] Furthermore, neither of the two interpretations which naturally suggest themselves for אגה of the Samaritan Targum of Lev. 24[11] will suit our passage,—leaving the question of the grammatical construction entirely out of account. If we adopt the meaning *to pronounce*, the Baraitha adds nothing to the Mishna; and if we adopt the meaning *to curse* or *blaspheme*, the passage, taken in connection with the Mishna, would be reducing to a mere offense against the conscience, punishable by God alone, a crime for which the Mosaic law prescribed death by stoning. The fact is, we are far more likely to be helped to an understanding of the Samaritan text by a correct interpretation of the Talmudic passage.

The correct interpretation of the Baraitha is this: To the statement of the Mishna that among those who have no portion in the world to come is *he that pronounces* (*vocalizes*) *the Name with its own consonants*, the Baraitha adds the conditions, *In the territory* (outside of the Temple) *AND WITH THE VOCALIZATION* **A–G–A**.

We must remember that the Jews of the period lacked our grammatical concept of *vowel*, and that they had not exactly our clear-cut concept of *consonant*.[76] They did not

[75] See Vollers's edition.

[76] On the general subject of the grammatical attainments of the Rabbis, see Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebräischen Grammatik im Talmud und Midrasch*, Berlin, 1879. The author, however, fails to bring out the point made here.

separate the elements of language into two mutually exclusive and supplementary categories. A word, to their minds, had its several אותיות (properly אותות), *signs* or *letters*, which appeared upon the written page, and among which א, ה, ו, and י (no matter how employed) had an equal place with ב and ג. And it had besides its peculiar *speech* or *mode of utterance*, what we should call its *pronunciation* rather than its *vowels*. If we attribute to them the conception of *vocalization*, we must think of it in the sense of *making vocal* rather than in that of *adding vowels* to the consonants, as we are apt to do. Moreover, the letters of a word were so many distinct units, but its vocalization was one single mode of combining those units in speech. Thus אלהים had five אותיות, but only one לשון, *mode of utterance*, "Aus*sprache*," namely *Elohîm*. Ordinarily the need of abstracting the vocalization of a word from its consonants did not arise, and the לשון (spoken word) would of course embody its own proper אותיות. But this Baraitha records an oral tradition which could not, without committing the very sin it inveighs against, specify the prohibited vocalization in the ordinary way. It accordingly effects the necessary abstraction in about the only way possible to it — by inserting an arbitrarily chosen consonant between two א's. This is the nearest it can come to indicating "two syllables, with the *a* sound in each."

Confirmation of the above interpretation is supplied from a somewhat distant quarter. I refer to the much quoted passage in Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Exodum*, xv. (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, lxxx. 244): "This (the divine name revealed to Moses) is called by the Hebrews 'unutterable' (*ἄφραστον*); for it is forbidden them to quote it with the tongue (*διὰ τῆς γλώττης προφέρειν*). It is written with four characters, wherefore they refer to it also as 'the four-lettered' (*τετράγραμμον*) . . . . And it is called by the Samaritans Ιαβε,[77] but by the Jews Αια." This *Aya* of

[77] In the previous century, Epiphanius, whose Jewish birth is at least questionable (cf. Bonwetsch, *PRE*², vol. v. p. 418), doubtless derived his identical Ιαβε from a Samaritan source; cf. Dietrich, *ZATW*, vol. iii. p. 298. The

Theodoret has occasioned much discussion. Gesenius[78] thought it reproduced the אהיה of Ex. 3[14], and his view was adopted by more than one eminent scholar. It was, however, warmly disputed by Dietrich in a series of letters to Franz Delitzsch on the pronunciation of יהוה.[79] Dietrich refused to believe that any Jew to whom Theodoret applied for information could have been so ignorant as to suppose that אֶהְיֶה was pronounced *ah-ja*, or that Theodoret would have accepted the definition of the name from Ex. 3[14] when he had asked for its pronunciation. That Church Father must have repaired to the most muddled and ignorant Jew alive to extract such misinformation. On the other hand, Dietrich was positive that "*ein Jude* [the italics are his] *jederzeit sich eher würde haben todt schlagen lassen, als dass er* einem wirklich heidnischen, oder einem sich Christ nennenden 'יהוה' *den allerheiligsten Namen*, wenn er auch die älteste Aussprache wusste, *bloss zur Befriedigung der gelehrten Neugierde ausgesprochen hätte.*" He accordingly reached the conclusion that what Theodoret's Jew really furnished him was the simple Ια (the abbreviated form יָהּ of the Old Testament, which the Jews did not hesitate to pronounce), and that the Syrian-born theologian prefixed a prosthetic α on his own account.[80] In the opinion that no Jew would have committed the sacrilege of pronouncing the ineffable name merely to satisfy curiosity, Dietrich was quite right. No Jew would have been guilty of that act even for a more laudable purpose. But he was altogether wrong in supposing that the Jews of the time were generally ignorant of the

statement of Kautzsch, *Encyc. Bib.*, col. 3321, note 4, that the pronunciation Ιαβε is ascribed by Epiphanius to a Christian sect, is incorrect; the passage in which the name occurs, *Adv. haer.* I. iii. 20(40), is a parenthetic bit of lexicography on Epiphanius's own account, occasioned by the heretics' ignorant employment of the word *Şebaoth* as an independent name.

[78] *Thesaurus*, p. 577.

[79] The letters were published by Delitzsch after Dietrich's death in the *ZATW*, vols. iii and iv. The statements on this point will be found in vol. iii. pp. 282 f., 287 f., 293 f., 296 f.

[80] Dietrich preferred not to rely upon the reading Ια, which happens to be found in one patristic manuscript.

XUM

true pronunciation of the name,[81] and equally wrong in the supposition that the name was as secret as it was sacred. The Jew of whom Theodoret made inquiry evidently did indicate to that respectable and learned Gentile the authentic pronunciation of the name, and he did so without violating either its sacredness or his own conscience, by reproducing separately the abstract vocalization which belonged to the four characters יהוה. Theodoret manifestly mistook the purport of the reply, but heard distinctly and recorded faithfully the reply itself. His informant said **AYA**, agreeing entirely with the author of the Baraitha in *b. Sanhedrin* 101 *b*, for the medial consonant was of course arbitrarily chosen in each case and hence variable.

A word needs to be said regarding the conclusion to be drawn from the above testimony as to the pronunciation of יהוה in the Jewish tradition of the Talmudic period. The Jews, like the Arabs down to the present time, heard the sound *ă* (= *e* as in "there") only as a phase of *a* (as in "far"), and would as readily employ א to represent the former sound as we should spell a new word containing that sound after the pattern of "man." יַהֲוֶה in the so-called Babylonian system of punctuation cannot be distinguished from יַהֲוָה. Moreover, in reproducing the vocalization apart from the word's proper consonants, they might easily emphasize the identity of the sound by a little flattening; so that not even Theodoret's Α*ια* is conclusive for *a* as against *ă*. In any case, we have here conclusive evidence that the historical pronunciation of יהוה lay between the following: *Yahwa*, *Yăhwa*, *Yahwă*, *Yăhwă*. We shall have occasion to return to this subject below.

Turning now to the previous question, and assuming for the moment that the true vocalization of יהוה may be represented as *Yahwa*, the doctrine of Mishna and Baraitha of *Sanhedrin* x. 1 combined is this: Only in the temple at

[81] Blau (*Altjüdisches Zauberwesen*, p. 128 f.) takes issue with Dietrich on this particular point, but it has not occurred to him to ask himself how the knowledge he claims for the Jews of Theodoret's time was transmitted to them or maintained, — unless he takes seriously the story of its septennial transmission recorded in *b. Qiddushin* 71 *a*.

Jerusalem was it permissible to say *Yahwa;* elsewhere one might not utter that name without committing a sin against God. But one might with impunity exchange certain of its consonants, and say (for example) *Yahma*, employing a כנוי of the name. Also one might pronounce its four consonants with a different vocalization, saying (for example) *Yehawweh*, in which case one would be expressing a wholly different word.

The evidence that it was customary upon occasion to pronounce the name יהוה in altered form is not yet exhausted. One of the designations of that name current in Talmudic times is שֵׁם הַמְפֹרָשׁ. The intelligent use of this term ceased very soon after the close of the Talmud, and its exact meaning and origin have ever since remained a mystery. The term does not occur in the authentic text of the Mishna.[82] It is found, however, in the Baraitha *b. Sota* 38 *a*, in *Sifra* on Lev. 24[11] (104 *c*), and in *Sifre* on Num. 6[23] (ed. Friedmann, fol. 12 *a*), 6[27] (13 *b*); as well as in the Babylonian Gemara, *Yoma* 69 *b*, *Ḥagiga* 16 *a*, *Sanhedrin* 60 *a*, and in the Midrashim, *Shir-hashirim Rabba* on 4[5], *Koheleth Rabba* on 3[11b]. The Aramaic שְׁמָא מְפָרְשָׁא occurs in two passages of Targum Jerushalmi II, Ex. 32[25] and Lev. 24[11], and is employed unintelligently in an Aramaic anecdote in the section of *Koheleth Rabba* just mentioned.[83]

Though the suggested definitions of the term שם המפרש have been so numerous as to represent almost all the alternatives imaginable, thus far none can be said to have gained the general assent of scholars.[84] In recent times,[85] it has

[82] It is found in corrupt texts of M. *Yoma* vi. 2, which section continues to be cited in this connection; so by Blau, *l.c.* p. 124, and the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. ix. p. 162. But the entire passage in which the term occurs is an interpolation, lacking in the best manuscripts and printed texts; cf. Dalman, *Gottesname Adonaï*, p. 40, note, and Goldschmidt, *Der babylonische Talmud*, vol. ii., Berlin, 1901, p. 942.

[83] שמא מפרשא looks like a clumsy reproduction of the Hebrew שם המפרש. The true Aramaic would be שמא דמפרשא; cf. שמא דמיחד of Targum Jerushalmi I, Lev. 24[16].

[84] Cf. Gottheil, *JAOS*, vol. xviii. p. 361; Blau, *l.c.* p. 124.

[85] For some of the older literature see pp. 504 f. of Nestle's article quoted below.

been defined by Löw[86] and Oppenheim[87] as *the name which is engraved* (upon the High Priest's diadem); by Rahmer[88] as *the name that is explained* (in Ex. 3[14]); by Grünbaum,[89] who has written most voluminously and most confusedly upon the subject, as *the concealed* or *the mysterious name*. By Nestle,[90] on the testimony of Syriac lexicographers, depending ultimately on a scholion of Jacob of Edessa (who never knew the meaning of the term and had forgotten its exact form when he wrote about it), and by Friedländer[91] and Bacher,[92] who equate it with שֵׁם הַמְיֻחָד, it is defined as *the name which is reserved for* or *peculiar to* (God), that is, *the proper name*. Torrey[93] interprets it as *the holy name*. The following renderings are more or less related: Geiger,[94] "der ausdrückliche Name"; Cassel,[95] "der nach seinem wirklichen Laut ausgesprochene Name"; Munk,[96] "le nom distinctement prononcé"; Fürst,[97] Nager,[98] Levy,[99] and Dalman,[100] "der deutlich ausgesprochene Name."

So far as concerns the meaning of the verb contained in the participial form הַמְפֹרָשׁ, the last group of definitions is certainly most in accord with the usage. Not to quote Geiger, who bases his definition of our expression upon this fact, Bacher, who thinks himself forced to a variant conclu-

[86] *Beiträge zur jüdischen Alterthumskunde*, I. i. p. 25.* This and the following references marked with an asterisk I am obliged to make at second hand.

[87] *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, vol. xviii. pp. 545 ff., vol. xix. pp. 326 ff.*

[88] *Monatsschrift*, vol. xix. p. 187.*

[89] *ZDMG*, vol. xxiii. p. 632, vol. xxxi. pp. 225 ff., vol. xxxix. pp. 543 ff., vol. xl. pp. 234 ff.

[90] *ZDMG*, vol. xxxii. pp. 465 ff.; cf. Bernstein, *ibid.* vol. iv. pp. 199 f.

[91] *The Guide of the Perplexed, of Maimonides*, vol. i. p. 226, note 3.

[92] *Terminologie der Tannaiten*, pp. 159 f.

[93] *JAOS*, vol. xviii. pp. 180 ff.

[94] *Urschrift*, u.s.w., p. 264.

[95] *Monatsschrift*, vol. xix. pp. 73 ff.*

[96] *Le Guide des Égarés*, vol. i. p. 267.*

[97] *ZDMG*, vol. xxxiii. pp. 297 ff.

[98] *ZDMG*, vol. xxxv. pp. 162 ff.

[99] *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. שֵׁם:

[100] *l.c.* p. 53.

sion in the case of שם המפרש, has this to say of the Neo-Hebrew use of the intensive פֵּרֵשׁ:[101] Its standard meaning is "deutlich machen, bestimmt aussprechen, heraussagen. . . . Unser Verbum dient auch dazu, um anzugeben, dass etwas, was in der Thora unbestimmt gelassen oder nur angedeutet ist, in den prophetischen und hagiographischen Büchern deutlich ausgesprochen wird." The use of פֵּרוּשׁ, the *nomen actionis* of Piel he illustrates with היכן פירושו של דבר, "Wo findet sich die Sache deutlich ausgesprochen?" פֵּרוּשׁ is further "die genauere Bestimmung einer biblischen Satzung." The adverbial בְּפֵרוּשׁ is "ausdrücklich," with a reference among others to the passage M. *Sanhedrin* vii. 5 quoted above (pp. 147 f.) The participle מְפֹרָשׁ means "bestimmt deutlich gekennzeichnet," as opposed to סָתוּם, "unbestimmt, undeutlich."[102] Bacher goes on to say that מפרש has still another signification, "abgesondert," but the examples he cites yield the closely related meaning of "distinguished" rather than that of "detached." Moreover, for our present purpose it is most important to consider the sense in which פרש is used in connection with the divine name. In the passage we have quoted from the Mishna, *Sanhedrin* vii. 5, the intensive of פרש has the divine name as the object, and the meaning there is unmistakable. The blasphemer is not guilty *until he reproduce exactly the Name* (עד שיפרש השם), that is, until he make use of the exact name. And further on in the same paragraph, אמור מה ששמעת בפרוש, *Repeat exactly what thou didst hear;* and according to the express statement of the text, בפרוש indicates יהוה as against יהוה. To this we may add the testimony of the Aramaic usage in connection with the divine name. In Lev. 24[11. 16] of both Targum Onqelos and Targum Jerushalmi I, forms of פרש are used to render the Hebrew נקב. Whatever be the precise meaning of נקב, whether *to utter* or *to curse*, no one will pretend that it is *to separate*. Compare also the Peshîṭa of Lev. 24[16]. It remains to point out that the act of speaking is not necessarily bound up in the conception of פֵּרֵשׁ. It

[101] *l.c.* pp. 154 ff. [102] *l.c.* p. 137.

means *to indicate exactly* by any means. So in Targum Jerushalmi I of Ex. 32[28] we have חָקִיק וּמְפָרַשׁ = *exactly engraved*, and in Targum *Koheleth* 3[11] כְּתִיב וּמְפָרַשׁ[103] = *exactly written;* in both cases of the divine name. In view of all this evidence I fail to see how it can reasonably be questioned that Hebrew המפרש is *that which is exactly indicated* or *set forth*.[104]

Now in spite of the facts we have rehearsed, the rendering *the exactly pronounced name* for שם המפרש has not hitherto met with general acceptance. The basic objection to it was voiced by Nestle in 1878: "Wie das Tetragrammaton [which as a matter of fact was not pronounced] der deutlich ausgesprochene Name genannt worden sein soll, wenn nicht wie lucus a non lucendo, sehe ich nicht ein."[105]

In meeting this objection, we must consider a point which has not received the attention it deserves, namely, the gram-

[103] See Levy, *Das Targum zu Koheleth nach südarabischen Handschriften*, Breslau, 1905, p. 11.

[104] The Old Testament ἅπαξ λεγόμενον מְפֹרָשׁ, used adverbially in Neh. 8[8], admits of no other rendering than *with accuracy;* and the Perfect Pual of Num. 15[34] demands the corresponding interpretation, כִּי לֹא פֹרַשׁ מַה יֵּעָשֶׂה לוֹ *for it had not been exactly set forth* (specified) *what should be done unto him.*

A similar interpretation is required for the Pael passive particle in the Syriac term ܡܦܪܫ̈ܐ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ which continues to be erroneously rendered "The Gospel of the Separated Ones"; so Burkitt, *Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe*, Cambridge, 1904, vol. ii. p. 31, "that is, the Gospels divided into the four volumes of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John"; cf. *Encyc. Bib.*, col. 4999. But when were the Gospels divided? Of this interpretation Torrey very properly remarked in 1897, "There could be no reason for speaking of the four Gospels as 'separated'; least of all if they were to be contrasted, *as the original form*, with a mixture like the Diatessaron" (*l.c.* pp. 178 f.). That the term ܡܦܪܫ̈ܐ is, however, antithetical to ܡܬܚܕ̈ܐ, which serves to characterize the Diatessaron, cannot be doubted, as was shown by Gottheil (*ibid.* p. 361). But it does not follow that ܡܦܪܫ̈ܐ is therefore *the separated*. The antithesis of *harmonized* or *combined* is not *disharmonized* or *separated*, but *unharmonized, uncombined.* And this is precisely the purport of the participle ܡܦܪܫ̈ܐ, *reproduced in their exact* or *authentic form.* ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܡܦܪܫ̈ܐ is therefore *The Gospel of the* (four) *exactly reproduced*, or as we should put it, *The* (four) *Gospels in their exact form.* For the rest, it seems to me that even when employed of ordered lections, the idea embodied in the participle is that of *exact demarcation* rather than that of *division.*

[105] *l.c.*, p. 505.

matical form of our expression. All the renderings of שם המפרש (the engraved name, the explained name, the concealed name, the proper name, the holy name, the express name, the distinctly or exactly uttered name) treat the term as if it consisted of a determinate substantive with attributive adjective attached, that is, as Neo-Hebrew for השם המפרש. But that is not the actual construction in this case.[106] המפרש is not an attributive adjective, but a substantive in the genitive. The true solution of the matter seems to me this:

שם המפרש = השם = שם יהוה
שם יהוה = שם המפרש
המפרש = the vocable יהוה.[107]

Once more I call attention to the terminology of M. *Sanhedrin* vii. 5. The vocable יוסה we are told is a בִּנּוּי of יהוה. So that when pronounced יוסה, or with any other exchange of its consonants (בִּנּוּי), the name יהוה would be מְכֻנֶּה; on the other hand, when pronounced יהוה, it is מְפֹרָשׁ. This meets fully the objection expressed by Nestle, and at the same time supplies additional confirmation of the proposition with which we set out; for of course the mere existence of the expression requires us to assume that the name was sometimes purposely mispronounced. The term שם המפרש, then, is not *the name which was exactly pronounced*, but *the name* יהוה *with its exact pronunciation*. We may now quote one of the earliest passages in which the expression occurs, *Sifre* on Num. 6[23] (fol. 12*a*): כה תברכו את בני ישראל בשם המפורש אתה אומר בשם המפורש או אינו אלא בכינוי תל ושמו את שמי על בני ישראל בשם המפורש ובמדינה בכינוי

[106] Grünbaum concluded that we have here "ein neugebildeter, besondrer Kunstausdruck," *ZDMG*, vol. xxxix. p. 556; and Torrey agrees with him. It is not, however, the meaning of מפרש that is peculiar in this expression; it is the construction.

[107] By this I do not in the least intend to imply that שם יהוה in the Old Testament is "das Wort Jhvh," as Jacob, *Im Namen Gottes;* on which see Heitmüller in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* for 1905, cols. 369 ff. The equivalents indicated above are purely scholastic, and would have been quite impossible in an age when people habitually used יהוה immediately of the person of their God.

"Thus shall ye bless the children of Israel." — That is, with the name in its exact form. Thou sayest, 'In its exact form? — am I not to understand, with a surrogate?' The statement is, "They shall put my name upon the children of Israel:" — with the name in its exact form; only in the town with a surrogate.[108]

In the foregoing pages I have attempted to show (1) that the Masoretic text of Ex. 3[14] goes back to the fourth century B.C.; (2) that v.[14a] is an interpolation dependent upon the reading אהיה שלחני אליכם of [14b]; (3) that the reading אהיה in [14b] represents the alteration of an original יהוה, which had not been effected at the beginning of the fifth century B.C.; (4) that that alteration was not accidental, but due to the purpose to prevent the utterance of the ineffable name in this one passage of the Pentateuch where the employment of the ordinary synagogue surrogate for יהוה, namely אדני, was from the nature of the case impossible; (5) that the alteration took place, accordingly, sometime during the fourth century B.C., most probably coinciding with the spread of the Pentateuch and the rise of the Jewish synagogue; and finally (6) that such alterations, both of the name יהוה and of other religious terms, in cases where it was necessary to employ the word and yet desirable to avoid its actual pronunciation, are abundantly evidenced for the ensuing period; the regular method of alteration being to exchange one or more of the consonants of the word while leaving intact its syllabic and vocalic cast. If these positions have been satisfactorily sustained, אהיה of Ex. 3[14b] is a purely phonetic כנוי of יהוה, entirely devoid of meaning, and differs in sound from the proper name of the God of the Hebrews only in substituting א for י and י for ו.

I have not overlooked the fact that in one unimportant respect the word אהיה is unlike the other purely phonetic כנויים which have been adduced from the Rabbinical literature: it is not in itself a non-word that can never be anything but a כנוי. It is, however, in my judgment, a sufficient reply to this superficial objection to point out that in the

[108] Cf. p. 144 above.

fourth century B.C. the device of the כנוי was doubtless still in its incipiency; and further, that the selection of אהיה was clearly suggested by the words כי אהיה עמך, put into the mouth of the Deity in the preceding v.[12]; it so happened that the requirements of a phonetic כנוי were fully met by this word, which from its essential character as a verb could not be mistaken by the hearer for anything but a surrogate of יהוה. Of this we may be certain, that אהיה was chosen to replace יהוה solely because of its phonetic availability and without any regard to its positive lexical value, — exactly as *bleu* is used for *Dieu* in French oaths.

On the other hand, the virtually contemporary interpolation of v.[14a] with its אהיה אשר אהיה, leaves no doubt whatever that אהיה of [14b] was pronounced as the first person singular Imperfect of the verb היה, and is not a merely coincidental group of letters of whose vocalization we can know nothing. This being so, our passage supplies us with much earlier evidence as to the vocalization of the name יהוה than any we have hitherto possessed. For we now know that in the fourth century B.C. it was pronounced with the same vowels as was the first person singular Imperfect of the verb היה.

It is established, in the first place, by native testimony of the best possible kind, that the name consisted of but two syllables. The testimony is the best possible, because the only better would be a direct statement that the word had two syllables, which is impossible in the mouths of people who lack the concept of "syllable."

There remains, in the second place, the question as to the quality of the vowels of the verbal form אהיה in the fourth century B.C. As regards the vowel of the second syllable, the question can be definitely answered. ה֫ of the Imperfect Qal of לי"ה verbs, according to the best judgment of modern scholars, represents a direct transition from former *ai* (ַי),[109] which must, however, have ceased to be heard before the form was spelled with final ה. The vowel of the second syllable of אהיה, therefore, had the sound of *e* in "there" or *a* in "fare." Regarding the short vowel of the first syllable, we cannot

[109] See Kautzsch, § 75 *e*, and the literature there cited.

be quite so precise. The vowel of the preformative of the Qal Imperfect of all verbs was originally *ă*, and according to the Tiberian punctuation it had not departed very widely from that primitive sound in the case of the first person singular, when the vowel-points were invented. It is true that the so-called Babylonian system of punctuation points the prefix of the first person singular, like that of the other persons, invariably *i*.[110] But that certainly represents a later, not an earlier, phase of development than the one arrested by the Tiberian pointing. For the line of phonetic change in the quality of the vowels is from (1) *a* as in "far" to (2) *ă* as in "fare" (=*è* as in "there"), to (3) *e* as in "pet," to (4) *e* as in "pretty" (= *i* as in "pity"). Moreover, just as we have no ear for (2) in very short syllables, so the Hebrews had no ear for (3) except in long syllables. The phases to be reckoned with in the short first syllable of אוֹדֶה are therefore, *a*, *ă*, and *i*. And there exists no reason for supposing that the Palestinian pronunciation had already traveled through the final *i* stage and was on the way back again when the vocalization was fixed by means of the Tiberian pointing. The statement of Qimchi[111] that אֶקְטֹל was pronounced with Seghol in the prefix to distinguish it from יִקְטֹל need not be taken seriously, even if we admit that the latter was pronounced *iqṭol* (without consonantal *j*). In Modern Arabic the vowel of the prefix of the Imperfect has been changed to *i* in all persons but the first singular, where, under the influence of the א and without the aid of artificers, it remains *a*.[112] So in Hebrew, the influence of the guttural א checked and prevented the development of the

[110] See Kahle, *Der masoretische Text des ATs nach der Überlieferung der babylonischen Juden*, p. 53. Yet according to Diettrich, *ZATW*, vol. xx. pp. 153 *f.*, Yemen manuscripts of Targum Onqelos point the prefix of the first person with *a* in Aramaic only under the influence of the Hebrew!

[111] See Kautzsch, § 47 *b*.

[112] See Vollers, *Lehrbuch der aegypto-arabischen Umgangssprache*, p. 28, and cf. his note 3 on p. 29.

König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. p. 159, says, "Der ursprüngliche Vocal der Präformativa, nämlich ă, hat sich im regelmässigen Verb immer zu I zugespitzt, welches durch א zu ĕ zerdrückt wird." But when was the א absent, that there might be a point to crush?

vowel in the prefix of the first person to the i form reached in the case of the other persons.

Accordingly, in the fourth century B.C. אהיה was pronounced either *'ahyă* or, with a slight sharpening of the first vowel, *'ăhyă*. Similarly, in the fourth century B.C. יהוה was pronounced *Yahwă*, with possibly a slight modification of the first vowel in the direction of *Yăhwă*. And we have only to turn away from the printed page and trust entirely to the ear, to realize that the short vowel of the first syllable may very well have varied from one shade to the other in different localities and individuals. This conclusion is in harmony with the testimony of the Baraitha in *b. Sanhedrin* 101 *b*, and with the statements of Epiphanius and Theodoret, which have been noticed above.

Συμφωνία not a Bagpipe

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IN an interesting article in this JOURNAL (vol. xxiii, 1904, pp. 180–190) Mr. Phillips Barry essays to prove that the musical instrument which was called in Greek *συμφωνία*[1] was a bagpipe. The extracts from Polybius give no indication of the nature of the instrument. Mr. Barry has quoted at large a considerable number of passages from Latin writers in which *symphonia* is certainly, or probably, the name of an instrument; but neither from these nor from those collected out of later authors by Du Cange does it appear what it was, further than that in some instances a wind instrument is meant. For the interpretation 'bagpipe' Mr. Barry relies in part upon the meaning of the borrowed words *sumphōnyāh*, *ṣephōnyā*, in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Syriac, in part on the meaning of the derivatives of *symphonia* (*zampogna*, *zampoña*, etc.) in the Romance languages. Upon closer examination it will be found that this evidence does not sustain his contention.

In Dan. $3^{5(10.15)}$, in an Aramaic list of musical instruments, we find the Greek names *ḳîthros*, *saḇkā*, *psanterîn*, *sumphōnyāh* (*κίθαρις*, *κιθάρα*, *σαμβύκη*,[2] *ψαλτήριον*, *συμφωνία*). Of the last Mr. Barry writes: "Hebrew tradition has always held to the interpretation of *ṣūmpōnyāh* in Dan. 3^5 as a bagpipe."

[1] Polybius, xxvi, preserved by Athenæus, *Deipnosoph.* v. p. 193; x. p. 439, and Diodorus, xxix. 32; Dan. 3^5 (LXX.; most mss. of Theod.); Luke 15^{25}. On Luke 15^{25} it may be observed that the Ethiopic version renders *συμφωνία* by *'enṭērā*, the name of a musical instrument, by which elsewhere *αὐλός*, *ὄργανον*, *σίριγξ* (?), etc., are translated. The Coptic merely takes over the Greek words.

[2] An adopted word of Oriental origin.

This definition is, indeed, given in modern Hebrew dictionaries with a unanimity which might pardonably be mistaken for the consensus of tradition. When we inquire, however, how ancient this dictionary tradition is, it proves impossible to trace it farther back than the twelfth century of our era, when it appears in the commentary on Daniel printed in the Rabbinical Bibles under the name of "Saadia":[3] "*sumphōnyāh*, an instrument played by shepherds, resembling an inflated wine-skin; compare *bēth ha-simphōnōth*."[4] The currency of the interpretation 'bagpipe' is due to the chapters on music in the *Shilṭē ha-gibbōrīm* by Abraham di Porta Leone, published in 1612.[5] The author, a learned physician of Mantua, quotes and adopts the explanation of "Saadia," and follows it by a detailed description of a species of Italian bagpipe, the name of which was "*piva sordina*." He surmises that the same instrument was meant in M. Kelim 20^2, where "the bag of pipes" (*ḥēmath ḥalṭīn*, see below, p. 169) is mentioned, and compares the Latin "*tibia utricularis*."[6] The substance of this passage in the *Shilṭē ha-gibbōrīm* is quoted by Joel Loewe ("Bril") in his introduction to the Book of Psalms in the so-called Mendelssohn Bible. Many Christian scholars seem to have imagined — probably without having read the passage — that the author of the *Shilṭē* was giving a "traditional" description of the ancient Hebrew instrument, whereas he was illustrating what he thought it might have been like by describing an Italian instrument that he had seen.

The older Jewish commentators on Daniel confine themselves to the cautious statement that the ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in 3^5 are names of musical instruments. Ibn Ezra dismisses some attempts at more specific identifications as "unproved guesses." The commentators on the Mishna (see below,

[3] Not the Gaon Saadia (d. 942 A.D.), but a French or South German scholar two centuries later.

[4] See below, p. 168.

[5] This part of the work was reprinted, with other dissertations on Hebrew music, in Ugolini Thesaurus, vol. xxxii.

[6] It should be noticed that he does not connect the name of the instrument with the Italian *zampogna*.

p. 169) are not more explicit. In the sixteenth century Elias Levita wrote: "*sumphōnyāh* is the name of a musical instrument which is called in Italian *zampogna*, in German *Leier*,"[7] i.e. *Drehleier*, French *vielle*, English "hurdy-gurdy."

The author of the "Saadia" commentary manifestly derived his interpretation 'bagpipe,' not from "tradition," but by etymological association with the Talmudic phrase which he quotes, *bēth ha-simphōnōth*. *Simphōn* (*σίφων*) is a tube or pipe; specifically, the *simphōnōth* are the 'tubes' of the lungs, commonly taken to mean the great blood-vessels, but more correctly the bronchi[8]; *bēth ha-simphōnōth* is the part of the lungs in which these vessels are situated.[9] Assuming that *sumphōnyāh* in Daniel was the same word as the Talmudic *simphōn*, the lungs with the bronchi and trachea suggested the bagpipe. The whole combination, however, rests on a mistaken etymology: *συμφωνία* is not *σίφων*.[10]

The word *sumphōnyāh* occurs in the Mishna and Tosephta as the name of a musical instrument, in connection with *ḥālīl*, 'pipe,' and *ḳeren* or *ḥaṣōṣerāh*, 'horn, trumpet.'[11] From the contexts it is evident that it was a wind instrument; that it might be of metal or (of wood) covered with metal; and that it was kept in a case, which was sometimes open at one end, the instrument being slipped into it lengthwise, sometimes opened at one side. Nothing in these passages suggests a bagpipe, and the description of the cover or case seems clearly to exclude such an instrument. Further than this the texts do not lead us.

The commentators on the Mishna offer nothing more

[7] Methurgeman, *s.v.*; quoted by Drusius.

[8] See Aruch, *s.v.*: "The hollow tubes in the midst of the lungs through which the air enters." Cf. Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, 36. The Talmudic anatomy did not distinguish between the air passages and the great arteries; see, *e.g.*, Ḥullin, 45 *b*.

[9] Ḥullin 45 *b*. Cf. M. Ḥullin 3[1]; Ḥullin 47 *b*, 48 *b*, 49 *a*; Succa 36 *a*, etc.

[10] The two words are associated in the inverse sense by the author of the Aruch; the *simphōnōth* are 'pipes,' like *sumphōnyāh* in Daniel. Some Christian scholars have in other ways connected the word in Daniel with *simphōn*, 'pipe.'

[11] M. Kelim 11[6 bis], 16[8]; Tos. Kelim, B.M. 1[7] (p. 579 Zuckermandel).

definite than a "kind of musical instrument";[12] so also R. Nathan in the Aruch. R. Asher b. Jeḥiel (d. 1328) adds: "It has a thick piece of wood at the top made to blow on."[13] The Jewish commentators recognize a reference to the bagpipe in M. Kelim 20[2] (*ḥēmath ḥalīlīn*),[14] but none of them connects this, as Abraham di Porta Leone does, with *sumphōnyāh*.

According to several recent writers on Hebrew antiquities, Jewish tradition ascribes the meaning 'bagpipe' to another word in the Old Testament, viz. *'ūgāb* (Gen. 4[21] Ps. 150[4] Job 21[12] 30[31]), making it equivalent to the Aramaic *sumphōnyāh*. Thus Benzinger (1894): "Der selten erwähnte *'ûgâbh* . . . wird von der Tradition als Sackpfeife (*sûmpônjâh* Dan. 3[5]) erklärt."[15] — Riehm (1884): "Nach der Überlieferung ist *'ûgāb* die Sackpfeife (Dudelsack, Schalmei), die auch unter dem . . . Namen *sumponjah* (Dan. 3[5. 10. 15]) . . . vorkommt." — Leyrer (1882): "Die Pfeife, עוגב . . . (LXX ὄργανον . . .), nach Targ. Hier. ad Dard. Schilte haggib. die Sackpfeife."[16] — Diestel (1872): "Das *'Ugab* . . . war nach jüd. Interpreten ein Dudelsack oder ein Sackpfeife. . . . Genau so wird (vgl. Schilte bei Ugolini . . . XXXII. Kap. 11) das Instrument beschrieben, welches Dan. 3, 5; 10, 5 [N.B.!] vorkommt und *sumephonja* [*sic*] heisst."[17] — Winer (1848): "עוגב Gen. 4, 21. Hiob 21, 12. etc. nach den jüdischen Interpreten, Chald. und Hieron. die Sackpfeife, Dudelsack. סומפוניה chald. Dan. 3, 5. 10, 15 [N.B.!]., *συμφωνία* Polyb. bei Athen. 10. 439, wohl eben dasselbe, wie denn die hebr. Uebersetzung dafür עוגב hat. Noch jetzt heisst die Schalmei im Ital. Sambogna," etc.[18]

[12] Maimonides, Samson of Sens, Bertinoro. Hai Gaon unfortunately does not explain the word at all.

[13] רבנו אשר: לחבות בו is the usual word for blowing a pipe (*ḥālal*), etc. Rabbenu Asher probably means the mouthpiece of an instrument similar to the shawm. Cf. Maimonides on M. 'Arakin 2[2].

[14] Maimonides, Samson of Sens, etc.

[15] *Hebräische Archäologie*, 276; cf. Nowack, *Hebräische Archäologie*, i. 277. See also Benzinger in *PRE*[2], *s.v.* "Musik."

[16] *PRE*[2], x. 393. [17] *Bibel-Lexikon*, iv. 263.

[18] *Realwörterbuch*[3], ii. 123.

If the reader has patiently gone through these extracts, he will see

When "Jewish tradition" is alleged in this easy and familiar way, it is not an unfair presumption that the writer does not know where to lay his hand on a definite reference. In the present instance this presumption is readily verified. The ancient versions render *'ūgāb* in various ways, *cithara*, *organon*, etc., these variations showing that there was no fixed tradition. The only one of them which has been cited in support of the interpretation 'bagpipe' is the Aramaic Targums, which have uniformly *'abbūbā*, a pipe or flute.[19] Grotius (on Gen. 4^{21}) quoted the scholiast on Horace: "Ambubaiae dicuntur mulieres tibicinae lingua Syrorum. Etenim Syris tibia sive symphonia ambubaia dicitur." In Bereshith Rabba on Gen. 4^{21} (c. 23, 4), those who play on the *kinnōr* and *'ūgāb* are interpreted אורגנין and כורבלין, *i.e.* *ὑδραύλαι* and *χοραύλαι*. In Jer. Succa 5^{6} (ed. Zhitomir 22^{a}) Simeon b. Lakish says: עונב זה אורדבלים (l. אורג'), "the *'ūgāb* is a water organ" (*ὕδραυλις*).[20]

The mediæval commentators on the Old Testament are content to explain *'ūgāb* as 'a musical instrument.' Abul-

why I have thought it worth while to quote them *in extenso*, in chronological order. I might have added to the list the articles in Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie*, the Calwer *Bibel-Lexikon* (Kittel), and others, but *sapienti sat*. These industrious compilers have copied one another with such credulous fidelity that not only the larger errors about Jewish "tradition" reappear in all of them, but even the false reference to Dan. 10^{15} in Winer is reproduced by Diestel, with a fresh misprint (?), 10^{6}! (I have observed that a man who does not verify his references usually has a touching confidence that his predecessor was more honest.) The climax of blundering is reached in Leyrer. The Targum renders consistently אבובא, which nobody before or since has imagined to be a bagpipe. Jerome "ad Dard." [Ep. 129, Vallarsi, i. 960 ff.] contains no syllable on the subject; in Ep. 21, § 29 (ad Damasum), Jerome controverts the opinion of some of the Latins who thought that *symphonia* (Luke 15^{25}) was *genus organi*: *συμφωνία* is equivalent to *consonantia*; cf. his Comm. on Is. 5^{12} (referring to Dan. 3^{5}). In the *Shiltē ha-gibbōrim* the *'ūgāb* is interpreted not as 'bagpipe,' but as 'viola da gamba'! The last strange error is preserved by Benzinger in *PRE*^{2}, xiii. 593.

[19] Used in the Temple; see M. 'Arakin 2^{5}, 'Arakin 10^{5}, in conjunction with *ḥālīl*; of reed, *ib.*

[20] See Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, ii. 13, 295; cf. Ber. Rabba, c. 50, 14. On the water organ see also Tos. 'Arakin 1^{13}, 'Arakin 10^{5}.

walid (with Saadia) renders it by *ḳîtār* (κιθάρα). Solomon b. Abraham Parchon (twelfth century) in his Lexicon defines it as *ḳithros*, and describes the latter as a violin (strings of gut over a wooden sounding body, played by drawing a bow over them). Abraham di Porta Leone (seventeenth century) in the *Shilṭē ha-gibbōrīm* makes it a *viola da gamba*, which he describes, and calls by its Italian name. So much for the "Jewish tradition" that the *'ūgāb* was a bagpipe! The reader interested in the curiosities of learning may ask, How did this myth originate? I think the mystery can be solved. Winer notes that the Hebrew translation of Daniel has *'ūgāb* for *sumphōnyāh*; cf. Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 988: "Apud Dan. III, 5. 10. 15 interpres eo [sc. *'ūgāb*] utitur pro chald. סומכוניה." "The Jewish interpreters," "Jewish tradition that *'ūgāb* was a bagpipe," appear, thus, to have grown, like the three black crows in the story, out of the statement that the Hebrew translation of Daniel has *'ūgāb* for *sumphōnyāh*. This Hebrew version does not figure in the apparatus of recent commentaries on Daniel, nor in the Bible Dictionaries, so far as I have observed.[21] It may not be superfluous, therefore, to say that Gesenius means a translation printed by Kennicott from a codex in Rome (No. 270 Kenn.; see *Dissert. generalis*, p. 90). This folio manuscript with Targum, Massora, commentaries, etc., has a Hebrew translation of the Aramaic parts of Ezra and Daniel in a column beside the text, corresponding to that occupied by the Targum in other books. The codex is dated A.M. 5087 = 1327 A.D. The age of the translation is undetermined. Its quality may be judged from the fact that קתרוס is rendered by תוף, סבכא by חליל.[22]

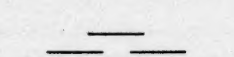
To return to *sumphōnyāh*. We have seen that there is no tradition that it was a bagpipe, and that the references to it in the Mishna exclude this interpretation. It is possible that some light may be thrown upon the nature of the instrument by a passage in the Palestinian Talmud. In Jer.

[21] Moses Stuart (1850) is the last by whom I find it referred to.

[22] The same version is found in Kenn. 512. It was reprinted from Kennicott by J. L. Schulze, Halle, 1782 (Bertholdt, *Einleitung*, 1548 f.).

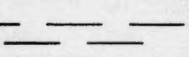
Megilla 1[9] (ed. Zhitomir 11 *a*) the question how the closing lines of a *mezūzā* should be written is under discussion. "Rabbi Aba in the name of R. Judah said: If they be written in the form of a half lozenge, the upper line of the last three should contain three words; the next, two; the last, only *'al-hā-āreṣ*. R. Zeira in the name of R. Ḥisda: If they be written in the form of a *sumphōn*, the upper line of the three should contain three words; the last line, two [sc. *'al-hā-āreṣ*]; about the middle line I am uncertain [whether it should have three or two]." We may compare with this Menaḥoth 31 *b*, where R. Aḥa bar bar Ḥannah cites R. Johannan as follows: "A *mezūzā* so written that three lines have respectively two, three, and one word is proper; but three lines must not be written in the shape of a tent,[23] nor like a tail.[24] R. Ḥisda said, The words *'al-hā-āreṣ* are written on the last line, some say at the beginning, others at the end."[25] It would appear, therefore, that when the end of the *mezūzā* was in the form of a *sumphōn*, the last lines, of unequal length, were brought into the same vertical column at one end or the other, and that this is the point of comparison.[26] If this be so, we should infer that the *sumphōn* or *sumphōnyāh* was composed of pipes of unequal length, fixed side by side in such a way that at one end they were in the same line. This would describe the Pan's pipes if there were several pipes, or the common Syrian double pipe if there were but two. The name *συμφωνία*, in its etymological sense, would apply more properly to the double pipe, by which two tones are produced at once, than to the Pan's pipes, which are used to give notes only in succession; it

[23] *I.e.*



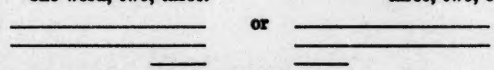
one word, two, three.

[24] *I.e.*



three, two, one.

[25] *I.e.*



Cf. Maim., *Mishneh Torah*, H. Tephillin 5[1].

[26] The *mezūzā* is now usually written in twenty-two lines, the words *'al-hā-āreṣ* standing by themselves in the last line, at the beginning or at the end. See Maimon. *l.c.* 5[2], *Jew. Encyclop.* viii. 531.

might be added that the Pan's pipes had an old established name, *σύριγξ*, while for the peculiar double pipe supposed in the alternative there is no Greek term known. These considerations are, however, not decisive. In Syriac, as well as in the Romance languages, the name *symphonia* is given to the syrinx, and this use — an extension, perhaps, of the original application of the word — may have been established in the time of the Talmuds.

In M. Kelim 11[6] we read: "If a *sumphōnyāh* has a בית קיבול כנפים, it is liable to contract defilement, whether the instrument be covered with metal or not"; similarly, Tos. Kelim, B. M., 1[7]: "A *sumphōnyāh* covered with metal is clean; if there be made in it a בית קיבול כנפים, it contracts defilement . . .; a pipe (חלול) covered with metal is clean; if there be made in it a בית קיבול כוסות, it contracts defilement," etc. What is meant here by כנפים is not clear, and the commentators give little light. The כוסות of the pipe (Tos., *l.c.*) are not improbably the conical or cup-shaped pieces inserted in the finger-holes of many Greek (and Roman) *αὐλοί*.[27] Similarly, we might surmise that the כנפים (lit. "wings") were the projecting pieces on some *αὐλοί*, by means of which the rings were rotated which served to stop some of the holes (see the works cited in the last note). We have, however, no evidence that this apparatus was employed on Oriental pipes. Lipmann Heller (on M. Kelim 11[6]) reproduces a figure of the כנפים from Meir of Rothenburg; but the illustration does not help us much, inasmuch as we do not know what manner of instrument Meir imagined the *sumphōnyāh* to be.

Mr. Barry arrays the Syriac among the witnesses to the meaning 'bagpipe'; but I find no evidence whatever that the word *ṣephōnyā* has this sense. The native lexicons give as equivalent of *ṣephōnyā* the Arabic and Persian names of a variety of wind instruments of the types represented by our flute, flageolet, oboe, clarinet, trumpet.[28] The only more definite description, repeated by several lexicographers, is as

[27] See Howard, *Harvard Classical Studies*, iv. 1893; v. Jan in *Baumeister*, i. 553 ff., *Pauly-Wissowa*, ii. 2416 ff.

[28] Sporadically also lyre.

follows: "It is said that it resembles a crown,[29] and consists of several pipes which are blown upon." So Bar Ali (in Payne Smith, *s.v.*) and Bar Baḥlul. The latter adds: "The Greeks give the name *συμφωνία* to a musical instrument which has seven bronze pipes; the Syrians call it *ṣephōnyā;* in Hebrew it is called *sambūḳ.*" Another gloss interprets the word by the Greek *σύριγγες*. In some manuscripts of Bar Baḥlul drawings of the *ṣephōnyā* are given, in forms which seem to result from fusion and misunderstanding of the definitions, but nowhere is 'bagpipe' suggested.[30]

The last point in Mr. Barry's argument is that the instrument called in Latin *symphonia* "can be no other than the bagpipe, still called by the same name in all of the Romance languages derived from the Latin." I fear that this evidence will not stand examination much better than the rest. Pedro of Alcalà, in his Spanish-Arabic vocabulary, gives as the equivalent of *çampoña* the Arabic *zummára*, *zummár*, the usual modern name of a kind of double clarinet. To come to modern times, the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy defines: "Zampoña. Instrumento rústico pastoril á modo de flauta, ó compuesto de muchas flautas. Pipitaña." The same definition is given in all the Spanish lexicons and encyclopædias I have been able to consult, including Dominguez, Donadíu y Puignan, and Zerolo; none of them recognizes the meaning 'bagpipe.' The Portuguese-English dictionary of Lacerda defines "a pastoril [*sic*] pipe."

In the Italian lexicons and encyclopædias *zampogna* is defined as Pan's pipe, syrinx; rustic whistle, made of the bark of the poplar, chestnut, etc.; the valved pipe by which the wind is introduced into a bagpipe (Tommaseo e Bellini); the chanter and drones of a bagpipe (Broccardo); the nozzle of a syringe (obsolete). Fanfani (1865) defines the word as a whistle, but adds, "improperly confounded with the *cornamusa* (bagpipe)." Petròcchi (1891) defines as Pan's

[29] The comparison is perhaps to the radiate or crenellated crown; the projecting ends of the tubes being the point of resemblance.

[30] Bar Baḥlul, ed. Duval, *s.v.*; Payne Smith, *s.v.*

pipes, etc., adding, "In Southern Italy they call the *cornamusa* by this name." Anderoli, *Vocabolario Napoletano-Italiano* (1887): "Zampogna. Strumento rusticale da fiato, composto di un otre e tre canne, Cornamusa, Piva, ed anche Zampogna o Sampogna, sebbene questa propriamente sia tutt' altro strumento, formato di sole canne disuguali uniti insieme."

'Bagpipe' is therefore not the common and accepted meaning of *zampoña*, *zampogna*, but is unusual and provincial.[21] It is also obviously secondary: a word meaning pipe or pipes might easily be applied to the bagpipe; first, as we actually see in Italian, to the pipes themselves, then to the instrument as a whole. It is less easy to see how the specific name of an instrument of so peculiar a kind as the bagpipe should be transferred to things so different as Pan's pipes and whistles, for which there were already names in plenty. While I think, therefore, that Mr. Barry is right in taking *συμφωνία* in Luke 15[25] as the name of a musical instrument, there is no ground whatever for identifying it with the bagpipe.

[21] In the Romauntsch dialect of the Upper Engadin *sampuogn* is a cowbell.

עֵר וְעֹנֶה in Malachi ii. 12

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IN verses 10-12 of the second chapter of Malachi, the Prophet is denouncing the faithless among the children of Israel. After making mention of the renegades, who have cast off the religion of Yahwè and joined themselves to foreign gods (vs.11), he proceeds (vs.12): "Whoever does this, may Yahwè cut off his whole family from the tents of Jacob!" that is, let not a man of his posterity be left to enjoy the blessings of the chosen people.

There is no doubt that this is the meaning of the verse; the only difficulty is in the phrase עֵר וְעֹנֶה, which must be equivalent to "every individual." The word עֵר, as otherwise known, means "waking," and seems to be the participle of עוּר; Song of Songs 5[2]: אֲנִי יְשֵׁנָה וְלִבִּי עֵר, "I sleep, but my thoughts are awake." The literal translation of עֵר וְעֹנֶה might therefore seem to be, "the one who is awake and the one who answers." But it is not possible to make a suitable phrase out of these materials, as is generally admitted. There is no such correspondence in meaning between "waking" and "answering" as is demanded by the context here, if the phrase is to have any point at all. The reading עַד (cf. the Greek translation, ἕως = עַד) is worse than that of our Massoretic text, as I attempted to show in my article, "The Prophecy of Malachi," in this *Journal*, vol. xvii, 1898, p. 5. At that time I proposed emending the text to שֹׁרֶשׁ וְעָנָף, "May Yahwè cut him off root and branch," and this rather desperate suggestion has been approved by Marti in his recent commentary (*Das Dodekapropheton*, 1904).

But the comparison of a parallel in old Arabic usage has led me to change my view, and I now believe that the Massoretic reading עֵר וְעֹנֶה is the correct one, though the word עֵר must be given a new translation. The Arabic phrase is found in the story of the Ayesha scandal (الإفك) as narrated in Ibn Hišām. Ayesha tells how the party went away without her, and how she, returning to the camping-place, found it deserted (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 732, line 7 f.): فرجعتُ الى العسكر وما فيه مِن داعٍ ولا مُجيب قد انطلق الناسُ; "So I returned to the encampment, but there was not a human being (lit. *one who called and one who answered*) there; the people had gone." This is certainly a very natural proverbial phrase to use in speaking of solitude taking the place of social life. Not a voice is heard; there is no one to begin a conversation nor any to respond. And the Hebrew phrase is the equivalent of the Arabic, if we suppose that עֵר is a verbal noun with the meaning of מֵעִיר (*Hiphil* participle), "the one who *begins* (lit. *arouses* or *starts*) the conversation, and the one who answers." There is in fact no difficulty in the way of supposing that the verbal noun עֵר has here the active signification. Aside from the fact that the *Qal* of the verb עוּר occurs once in the Old Testament (Job 41[3]) with the transitive meaning "to stir up," the use of such a noun of the simplest form to correspond to a verb which is regularly used in a derived stem has in it nothing unusual. The familiar example of עֵד and הַעִד is only one of many which could be given. Jerome and the Jewish tradition which he followed were on the right track with their *magister* (*i.e.* "the one who arouses or incites"). They saw that the meaning in this context must be active, not stative. As for the choice of the word עֵר for this particular phrase, while it is true that a verb with the root-meaning *suscitare*, *provocare*, is very well suited for such an idiom as this one, yet the reason for the selection was undoubtedly the fact that the initial letter of the word is ע. Alliteration is always at a premium in such phrases.

The Massoretic text of Mal. 2[12a], then, is right as it stands, namely, יַכְרֵת יְהוָה לָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂנָּה עֵר וְעֹנֶה מֵאָהֳלֵי יַעֲקֹב; and the translation is: "May Yahwè cut off, for the man who does this, both the calling one and the answering one out of the tents of Jacob!"

Traces of the Diatessaron of Tatian in Harclean Syriac Lectionaries

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I.

DURING the early months of the academic year 1902–1903, when Jerusalem, compassed with cholera, was nearly shut off from the outside world, and many activities were denied to us, the members of the American School were so fortunate as to make the acquaintance of the Syrian (Jacobite) Bishop of Jerusalem, who permitted us to examine the manuscripts in the monastery over which he presides. Among these were two Syriac lectionaries, dating one from the year 1221 and the other from 1262.

Lectionary *A* is written in estrangelo characters on vellum, and consists of 161 leaves, 55 cm. high and 40 cm. wide, with two columns to the page and 30 lines to the column. Of these leaves three are new, one of the new leaves (f. 97) being still blank, while the other two (f. 106 and f. 108) are written in modern characters. F. 123 has been patched, about one third being new. The rest, including four leaves at the beginning devoted to the index, is all of the same age, and a colophon dates it in the year 1574 of the Greek era, *i.e.* 1262 A.D. The general order is: (1) evening lesson, (2) morning lesson, (3) lesson for the Mass. The title of each of these is in red or gilt letters.

Lectionary *B* contains 187 vellum leaves, 26 cm. high and

20½ cm. wide, with two columns to the page, each 5½ cm. wide, and with 27 lines to the column. These are written in fine estrangelo characters with headings in gilt or red. Occasionally the margin contains a note in Greek. A colophon dates this portion of the ms. in the year 1533 of the Greeks, *i.e.* 1221 A.D. The ms. also includes 14 leaves, of paper, written in a later hand; of these leaves seven, at the beginning, are occupied by the index. The text is illustrated by seven pictures. The upper cover is of silver, and is ornamented with a figure in each corner, and in the centre with a crucifix in relief between two standing female figures.

The lessons in these books were found to consist for the most part of continuous extracts from the different Gospels, but those for the various services of Passion Week are made up of a harmony, or compilation, of brief extracts from the four Gospels, pieced together so as to make a continuous story after the manner of Tatian. In the further investigation of the matter we were greatly handicapped by the lack of books, but the fourth edition of Scrivener's *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* was in our library, and by comparing the lectionaries with the extracts from the Syriac versions contained in that work we determined provisionally that the text was substantially the same as White's Harclean version.[1] No means were at hand, however, for ascertaining

[1] The lectionary has, however, a large number of independent readings, but agrees in the main with the Peshitta, both differing at times from White's text. There are some 300 variants, about one third of which are scribal, especially in the case of names and foreign words, in which the lectionary usually follows the Peshitta, often also words are in different order from White's text, the Peshitta differing from both. The lectionary has the true Syriac form *'espeira*, Jn. 18[3], and *'estrațiga*, Lk, 22[52]. The following readings in the lectionary may be noted: Lk. 22[51] + *to Peter*, with the verb in the singular; Matt. 26[30] *he gave thanks;* Matt. 26[31] + *his* [*flock*]; Mk. 15[8] *he began to ask*, Pilate being obviously the questioner, as "multitude" has the verb in the plural; Matt. 26[42] + *he fell upon his face and;* + *cup;* Jn. 19[17] *they went out;* Matt. 27[40] + *oh!* Matt. 27[42] + *so that we may see* Jn. 19[41] + *his* [*new tomb*] + *hewn in the rock*, as in the Arabic Diatessaron; Lk. 23[15] *I sent him to him*, as in the Arabic. Instead of using the possessive pronoun to refer to the genitive in a *stat. const.* of which both parts are determined, the pronoun is often omitted in passages where it is found in White's text, *e.g.* Matt. 26[30. 67], 27[58], Jn. 19[40]. [H. H. S.]

whether the composite sections were derived from Tatian. No copy of the Arabic Diatessaron could be found in Jerusalem, although the Dominicans and Franciscans kindly gave us access to all their books. Accordingly I wrote to Dr. Rendel Harris about the matter. He had himself worked in the library many years ago, and was fondly remembered by one of the older monks (Brother Abdullah, who has since died) as "Yakob Harris." Dr. Harris replied: "The passion harmony of which you speak is common in Harclean codices; but I do not think the order is Tatian's, and I have several times looked at it, having had many copies through my hands."[2] It appeared that the question of the origin of the harmony contained in these sections had received little attention, and accordingly Dr. Spoer and I photographed the harmonic sections of Lectionary *A* and collated with them those of Lectionary *B*.

Since our return to America we have pursued the investigation with the aid of the necessary books, and Dr. Spoer has discovered that five of the harmonic sections bear a close relationship to the Arabic Diatessaron, as published by Ciasca (1888). Of these sections he will treat below. With the exception of these five sections the passion harmony of

[2] The same judgment is expressed by Zahn, "Tatian's Diatessaron," in *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, i, 1881, p. 294. J. P. P. Martin has elaborately and interestingly discussed the Syriac passion harmonies in the following publications: Pitra's *Analecta sacra*, iv, 1883, pp. 483–486; "Le Διὰ Τεσσάρων de Tatien," in *Revue des questions historiques*, vol. xxxiii, 1883, pp. 349–394; *Introduction à la critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament; Partie théorique*, 1883, pp. 707–710, XXI–XXIV; *Partie pratique*, vol. iii, 1885, pp. 121–144, 420–426; cf. also his article "Le Διὰ Τεσσάρων de Tatien" in *Revue des questions historiques*, vol. xliv, 1888, pp. 5–50. The Abbé Martin's work seems to have been somewhat neglected by Protestant scholars, partly, no doubt, because of the practical joke which he once perpetrated on his fellow-critics (*Introduction; Partie théorique*, pp. 234–236). He held that the habitual use of passion harmonies in the various branches of the Syrian church was due to the influence of the Diatessaron of Tatian, and observes (*Introduction; Partie pratique*, vol. iii. p. 130) that the harmony used by the Monophysites shows "some points of contact" with the Arabic Diatessaron. See, further, at the end of the present article, p. 195. Martin was not acquainted with any form of the passion harmony which exactly corresponded with the Arabic Diatessaron.

the lectionaries bears no relation to the Diatessaron, so far as we can recover it from Ciasca's Arabic text, from the Armenian version of Ephraem's Commentary, and from the form in which Victor of Capua left it in the Codex Fuldensis of the Latin Vulgate. Not only does the order of topics vary, but in treating the same topics, except in the five sections mentioned, the extracts from the Gospels differ from those of Tatian. To exhibit in detail something of the difference, I subjoin lists of the passages which make up the sections treating of the Last Supper: —

Lectionaries	Arabic Diatessaron
Matt. 26^{20a}	Lk. 22^{14-16}
*Lk. 22^{14b-16}	Jn. 13^{21a}
Matt. 26^{21}	Mk. 14^{18b-20}
Lk. 22^{23}	Lk. 22^{21}
Jn. 13^{2}	Mk. 14^{21}
Mk. 14^{18-20a}	Jn. 13^{22}
Jn. 13^{16-19}	Lk. 22^{23}
Lk. 22^{21}	Jn. 13^{23-29}
Jn. $13^{21.\ 22}$	Matt. 26^{25}
Matt. 26^{22}	Jn. 13^{30-32}
Jn. 13^{23-26a}	Mk. 14^{22a}
Mk. 14^{20b}	Matt. 26^{26b}
Matt. $26^{23.\ 24a}$	Mk. 14^{23a}
Mk. 14^{21b}	Matt. 26^{27b}
Matt. 26^{25-28}	Mk. $14^{23b.\ 24a}$
Lk. 22^{19b}	Matt. $26^{28.\ 29}$
Matt. 26^{29}	Lk. 22^{19b}
Lk. 22^{20-30}	Lk. $22^{31.\ 32}$
Jn. 13^{26b-30}	Jn. 13^{33-36}
Jn. $13^{31b.\ 32}$	Matt. 26^{31-33}
Matt. 26^{30-32}	Lk. 22^{33b}
Lk. 22^{31-32}	Jn. $13^{37b.\ 38a}$
*Jn. 13^{33}	Mk. 14^{30b}
Lk. 22^{33}	Lk. 22^{34b}
*Jn. $13^{37b.\ 38}$	Mk. 14^{31}
Matt. 26^{33}	Jn. 14^{1-31a}
Mk. 14^{30a}	Lk. 22^{35-38}
Matt. 26^{34b}	Jn. 14^{31b}
Lk. 22^{34b}	Lk. 22^{39}
Matt. 26^{35}	Jn. 15^{1-27}
Jn. $16^{31.\ 32}$	Jn. 16^{1-33}
Lk. 22^{35-38}	Jn. 17^{1-26}

* Passages marked with an asterisk are omitted by Lectionary *B*.

It is evident from this comparison that the Syriac is an independent compilation. The same result is obtained if one compares the composition of any other part of the narrative of the passion in the two works.

The following comparison of the order of the leading topics in the narrative of the passion yields a similar proof of independence.

Lectionaries	Arabic Diatessaron
At the passover supper.	Paschal feast begun.
The traitor announced.	The traitor announced; he goes out.
Supper eaten.	The supper.
Judas withdraws.	Peter's denial foretold.
Withdrawal to Mount of Olives.	Withdrawal to Mount of Olives.
Denial of Peter announced.	
Withdrawal to Gethsemane across the Kidron.	Gethsemane.
In Gethsemane.	
Betrayal and arrest.	
Before Annas; Peter's first denial.	Before Annas; Peter's first denial.
Before Caiaphas.	Before Caiaphas; second and third denials.
Before the Sanhedrim; second and third denials.	Before the Sanhedrim.
Before Pilate; "what is truth?"	Before Pilate; "what is truth?"
	Before Herod.
People choose Barabbas.	Before Pilate again; Barabbas chosen.
Jesus scourged, Barabbas released.	
Repentance of Judas.	Judas returns the silver.
Before the Sanhedrim again.	
Before Pilate again.	
Before Herod.	
Before Pilate again.	
Barabbas again chosen.	
Jesus again condemned and scourged.	
Jesus mocked and crowned with thorns.	
Pilate exhibits Jesus to excite pity.	
Jesus delivered to be crucified.	
March to Calvary.	March to Calvary.
Crucifixion and attendant events.	Crucifixion.
Entombment.	Entombment.
Tomb sealed.	Tomb sealed.

XUM

From this comparison it is clear that the Diatessaron is a much abler piece of work. It conducts the reader by means of a connected and intelligent narrative through the events of the last hours of the life of Jesus. The lectionary sections reach the same goal, but by a much more devious way. Thus in the midst of the events after the Last Supper had been eaten, we are told that "when they had offered praise they went out to the Mount of Olives," and the prediction of Peter's denial apparently takes place there, but after this Jesus passes with the disciples over the Brook Kidron, as though he had not gone out before. The narrative is also so selected from the different Gospels that Jesus is condemned by the Sanhedrim twice, is before Pilate three times, and condemned by him twice, while Barabbas is twice chosen by the people. Likewise in the minor details of the narrative throughout, the text is conflate and repetitious. It is a striking fact, too, that the discourses of John 14–16 are omitted by the Syriac lectionaries, although included in the Diatessaron. In constructing the harmony, with the exception of those sections of which Dr. Spoer treats below, the use of Tatian's work appears to have been deliberately avoided.

G. A. B.

II.

The five sections referred to above, which show a connection with the Arabic Diatessaron, include more than one fourth of the whole passion harmony contained in the lectionary. The surrounding sections, as Professor Barton has shown, exhibit only such incidental agreement with the corresponding sections of the Diatessaron as must inevitably occur in parallel passages from any two Gospel harmonies. The following exhibition of the passages which make up these five sections and of those composing the corresponding chapters of the Diatessaron will show the agreements and differences.

(1) The lesson, "Of the first watch of the night of Good Friday," title-number 201. It stands in a footnote to column ix of Lectionary *A*, and corresponds to chapter 48^{7-13} of the Arabic Diatessaron.

Lectionary *A*	Lectionary *B*	Arabic Diatessaron
Lk. 22[41a]	Lk. 22[41]	Lk. 22[41]
Mk. 14[35]	———	Mk. 14[35]
Lk. 22[41b]	———	———
Mk. 14[36a]	Same	Same
Lk. 22[42b]	Same	Same
[5] Mk. 14[36b]	———	———
Matt. 26[40a]	Same	Same
Mk. 14[37]	Same	Same
Matt. 26[40b. 41a]	Same	Same
[6] Mk. 14[38]	Same	Same
Matt. 26[42]	Same	Same

Translation:[5]

Lk. 22[41a] And he was parted from them ⟨a little⟩ about a stone's throw, ⟨vs.[41b] and he kneeled down and fell forward on his face⟩, [Mk. 14[35a] and he went forward a little and fell upon the ground] vs.[35b] and prayed that if it be possible that hour might pass away from him. [Lk. 22[41b] And he kneeled down, he prayed saying] Mk. 14[36a] Abba [Father] all things are possible to thee; Lk. 22[42b] if thou be willing let this cup pass away from me. Nevertheless not my will but thy ⟨will⟩ be done. [Mk. 14[36b] Not as I wish but as thou.] Matt. 26[40a] And he came to *the* (his) disciples, and he found them sleeping, and he said to *Peter* (Cephas), Mk. 14[37] Simon, sleepest thou? Matt. 26[40b] Lo, could ye not watch with me one hour? vs.[41a] Watch and pray, so that ye enter not into temptation; vs.[41b] = Mk. 14[38b] the spirit is willing ⟨and ready⟩ but the *flesh* (body) is weak. vs.[42] He went away again a second time [he fell upon his face] ⟨and⟩ prayed saying, My Father, if this cup cannot pass away [from me] except I drink it, thy will be done.

[5] Mk. 14[36b] = Lk. 22[42b] in substance.

[6] The Peshitta and the Arabic version in Mk. 14[38b] read "willing and ready," in Matt. 26[41b], "ready"; in the Harclean (Whi[illegible] our lectionary) Mk. and Matt. coincide in having the shorter form.

[5] The following signs are used in the translations:

⟨ ⟩ indicate that the enclosed passage or word is additional in the Arabic Diatessaron.

[ ] indicate that the enclosed passage or word is additional in the lectionary.

( ) preceded by *italics* indicate that the word or phrase enclosed is found in the Arabic Diatessaron in place of the *italicised* word or phrase of the lectionary.

(2) The lesson "Of the second watch of the night of Good Friday" and part of the lesson "Of the third watch of the night of Good Friday," title-numbers 202 and 203. These stand in columns xi–xiv of Lectionary *A* and correspond to chapter 48[25-51] of the Arabic Diatessaron.

Lectionary *A*	Arabic Diatessaron
Matt. 26[49. 50a]	Same
Lk. 22[48b]	Same
Matt. 26[50b]	Same
———	Lk. 22[52a]
[6] ———	Jn. 18[4b. 5]
Jn. 18[6-9]	Same
Matt. 20[50a]	Same
Lk. 22[49]	Same
Jn. 18[10. 11a]	Same
Lk. 22[51a]	———
Jn. 18[11b]	Same
Matt. 26[52b-54]	Same
Lk. 22[51b]	Same
Matt. 26[55a]	Same
———	Matt. 26[55b]
Lk. 22[52. 53a]	———
Lk. 22[53b]	Same
Matt. 26[56]	Same
———	[7] Jn. 18[12]
Mk. 14[51. 52]	Same
[7] Jn. 18[12-15a]	Same
Matt. 26[58a]	———
Jn. 18[15b. 16]	Same
Matt. 26[58b]	———
Jn. 18[17]	Same

Translation:

Matt. 26[49] And immediately *he* (the traitor Judas) went near

[6] There is obviously a lacuna in the lectionary between Matt. 26[50b] and Jn. 18[6]. This is supplied in the Arabic Diatessaron by Jn. 18[4b-5], which, however, in the lectionary precedes this section, together with vs.[8].

Lk. 22[52a], as is pointed out by Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ*, p. 235, is more appropriately placed lower down, at the point where it is found in the lectionary.

[7] In the Diatessaron, the verse Jn. 18[12] occurs twice, once in full, following upon Matt. 26[56], and again in a condensed form just below, as in the lectionary. In the place where it first occurs it may be a later insertion. It has there been altered so as to read "and they went their way," instead of "and they bound him."

to Jesus and said, Hail, Master! and kissed him. vs.[50a] Then said Jesus to him, Lk. 22[48] Judas, dost thou betray the Son of Man with a kiss? Matt. 26[50] My friend, art thou come for this? ⟨Lk. 22[52a] Jn. 18[4-5] And Jesus said unto them which were come unto him, Whom seek ye? They said unto him, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus said unto them, I am he. And Judas also, the betrayer, was standing with them.⟩ Jn. 18[6] When *he* (Jesus) therefore said to them, I am he, they went backwards and fell upon the earth. vs.[7] Then again *he* (Jesus) asked them, Whom are you seeking? They [then] said, Jesus, the Nazarene. vs.[8] Jesus answered ⟨to them⟩, I said to you that I am he. If therefore ye are seeking me, let these go. vs.[9] So that the word be fulfilled which he spoke, Of those whom thou hast given me I have not lost one. Matt. 26[50a] Then they ⟨that were with Judas⟩ drew near ⟨and⟩ laid hands on Jesus and took him. Lk. 22[49] But when *those who were with him* (his disciples) saw that which took place, they said [to him], Master, shall we smite them with the swords? Jn. 18[10] Simon *Peter* (Cephas), therefore, who had a sword, drew it and struck a servant of the high priest, and cut off his right ear. But the name of the servant was Malchus. vs.[11a] [Then] Jesus [answered] saying to *Peter* (Cephas), [Lk. 22[51a] Permit them unto this] Jn. 18[11a] [Put the sword into its sheath]. The cup which *the* (my) Father has given me, shall I not drink it? Matt. 26[52a] ⟨Put the sword into its sheath⟩ for all those who *take* (attack with) the sword shall perish with the sword. vs.[53] Or thinkest thou that I cannot [now] beseech my Father and he shall furnish to me now more than twelve legions of angels? vs.[54] How then shall the scriptures be fulfilled? ⟨which say⟩ that thus it is right to be. Lk. 22[51b] *and* (after this) he ⟨gently⟩ touched *his* (the) ear ⟨which he had struck and⟩ he healed it. Matt. 26[55a] ⟨and⟩ In that hour said Jesus to the multitudes ⟨vs.[55] Are ye come out against me as an attack is made on a robber, with swords and staves to take me? I sat daily with you in the temple, teaching, and ye took me not.⟩ [Lk. 22[52] who had come out against him, the chief priests and the soldiers of the temple and the elders, Ye have come out as against a robber with swords and staves that ye might take me. I was daily with you in the temple, ye have not stretched out hands against me.] Lk. 22[53a] But this is your hour and the power of darkness. Matt. 26[56] But [all] this came to pass, that the scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled. Then all the disciples left him ⟨and⟩ they fled. ⟨Jn. 18[12] So the

band and the captains and the soldiers of the Jews took Jesus, and went their way.) Mk. 14[51] And one young man followed him, *who had wrapped a linen cloth over his nakedness* (naked, wrapped in a linen cloth) and *the young men* (they) laid hold on him, vs.[52] but he let go the linen cloth (and) he fled [from them] naked.

[8] Jn. 18[12] Then [the band and the leaders and the officers of the Jews] took Jesus and bound him vs.[13] and led him first to Hannan, for he was father-in-law to Caiaphas who was high priest that year. vs.[14] But it was Caiaphas who had counseled the Jews, It is expedient that one man should perish instead of the people. vs.[15a] But Simon *Peter* (Cephas) followed Jesus, and another disciple, [Matt. 26[58a] afar off, unto the court of the high priest] Jn. 18[15b] But that disciple was known to the high priest, and entered with Jesus the court [of the high priest] vs.[16] But *Peter* (Simon) was standing outside at the door. Then went out that other disciple who was known to the high priest and he spoke to the portress and *he* (she) brought *Peter* (Simon) in. [Matt. 26[58b] And when he had entered within he sat down with the officers to see the end] Jn. 18[17] *Then said the maid, the portress, to Peter* (And when the maid, the portress, saw Simon, she looked at him and said to him), Art thou not also one of the disciples of this man (that is to say of Jesus of Nazareth)?

(3) The earlier portion of the lesson "Of the noon hour of Good Friday," title-number 205. It is contained in columns xxviii–xxxi of Lectionary *A*, and corresponds to chapters 50[38]–51[8] of the Arabic Diatessaron.

Lectionary *A*	Arabic Diatessaron
Matt. 27[27] / Mk. 15[16]	Matt. 27[27]
Matt. 27[28]	Same
Jn. 19[23]	Same
[9] Matt. 27[29]	Same
Mk. 15[18]	[10] Matt. 27[30] / Mk. 15[18]

[8] The lesson for the third watch begins at this point.

[9] The clauses in Matt. 27[28b] are given in the lectionary in the reverse order to that found in the Diatessaron. The passage Jn. 19[23] and Matt. 27[29] may also be divided, as in the margin of the Arabic Diatessaron, between Jn. 19[23] and Matt. 27[28b].

[10] In the Diatessaron Mk. 15[18a] is incorporated into Matt. 27[29b] in the phrase "and did obeisance."

Lectionary *A*	Arabic Diatessaron
Jn. 19[6]	———
Matt. 27[30]	———
———	[11] Jn. 19[25]
Jn. 19[4-15]	Same

Translation:

Matt. 27[27], Mk. 15[16] Then the soldiers[12] of the governor removed Jesus ⟨and⟩ took him inside of [the court which is] the Praetorium, and they gathered unto him the entire band, Matt. 27[28] and stripped him, ⟨and⟩ *put upon him* (clothed him in) Matt. 27[28] a scarlet robe, Jn. 19[25] and dressed him in a purple garment, and plaited a chaplet of thorns, ⟨and⟩ they put it upon his head, and a reed in his right, and they bowed their knees before him ⟨and mocking and⟩ deriding him. Mk. 15[18] *And they began to salute him* (and they did obeisance to him) [Jn. 19[3a] And they came to him] and said, Hail king of the Jews. [Jn. 19[3b] and they *gave him blows* ⟨struck his cheeks⟩ Matt. 27[30] And they spat *at him* (in his face) ⟨and⟩ they took the reed away ⟨from his hand⟩ and beat him upon his head. ⟨Jn. 19[25]⟩ Jn. 19[4] ⟨And⟩ Pilate went out again and said to *them*, (the Jews) [Behold] I bring him out to you that you may know that I find *against him* (for his condemnation) not any cause. vs.[5] Jesus therefore went outside *wearing* (upon him) the chaplet of thorns and the purple garment. [And] *he* (Pilate) said to them: Behold, the man! vs.[6] ⟨And⟩ when the chief priests and the officers saw him, they cried out and said: Crucify him, crucify him! Pilate said to them, Take ye him and crucify ⟨him⟩, for I find against him no cause. vs.[7] The Jews answered him, We have a law and according to our law he deserves *to die* (death), because he made himself the Son of God. vs.[8] ⟨And⟩ when Pilate heard this saying *he feared greatly* (his fear increased) vs.[9] and entered again into the Praetorium, and said to Jesus, Whence art thou? But Jesus did not give him an answer. vs.[10] [Therefore] Pilate said to him, Dost thou not answer me? Dost thou not know that I have the power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee? [12] vs.[11] Jesus answered ⟨to him⟩ Thou hast not

[11] In the lectionary Matt. 27[30] is preceded, while in the Arabic Diatessaron it is followed, by Jn. 19[25].

[12] The Arabic Diatessaron uses *rigāle* for "soldiers" and "band," while the lectionary distinguishes *stratiote* and *speira*.

[12] The order is reversed in the Diatessaron.

any power against me except it were given [to thee] from above. Because of this, he who has delivered me to thee, *to him is the greater sin* (his sin is greater than thy sin). vs.[12] *From this* (because of this word) Pilate sought that he release him. Then the Jews cried out [saying], If thou release *this one* (him) thou art not a friend of Cæsar, ⟨for⟩ every one who makes himself a king *speaks against* ⟨opposes⟩ Cæsar.

vs.[13] ⟨And⟩ Pilate [therefore] when he heard *these words* (this saying) brought Jesus out and sat down on the judgment-seat at the place which is called "smoothed with stones," but ⟨in⟩ Hebrew ⟨it is called⟩ *Gabbatha* (Kabîtha). vs.[14] Now *it* (that day) was the *preparation* (assembly) of the passover, but ⟨it was⟩ about the sixth hour. And he said to the Jews, Behold your king! vs.[15] They then cried out, Take ⟨him⟩ away, take ⟨him⟩ away, ⟨crucify him⟩ crucify him! Pilate said to them, Shall I crucify your king? The chief priests answered ⟨to him⟩, We have no king except Cæsar.

(4) A later portion of the lesson "After his scourging with lashes, he is crucified; of the noon hour of Good Friday," title-number 205. It is contained in columns xxxiv–xxxviii of Lectionary *A*, and corresponds to chapter 51[35-43] of the Arabic Diatessaron. The part beginning with the words "by him," Matt. 27[39], column xxxvi, and running to the end of column xxxvii, Lk. 23[38], is written on paper in modern characters, and the source of the passages is not, as elsewhere in the ms., indicated in the margin.

Lectionary *A*	Arabic Diatessaron
Lk. 23[35a]	Same
Matt. 27[39. 40a]	Same
Mk. 15[29b]	Same
Matt. 27[42-43a]	Same
———	Lk. 23[35b]
Matt. 27[43b. 44]	Same
Lk. 23[36 37]	Same
———	Matt. 27[44]
Lk. 23[39-43]	Same

Translation:

Lk. 23[35a] *Also* (and) the people stood beholding Matt. 27[39] *but* (and) *those* (they) who passed by [him] reviled him shaking their heads and said, vs.[40] [Ah!] Oh! thou that destroyed the temple

and buildest it in three days (Matt. 27[40] = Mk. 15[29]) Save thyself, if thou art the son of God, and come down from the cross! vs.[41] In like manner also the chief priests mocked ⟨him⟩ *with the elders and the scribes* (and the scribes and elders) and the Pharisees ⟨and laughed to each other⟩ saying, vs.[42] *Others he saved* (the saviour of others) himself he is not able to save. ⟨Lk. 23[35] If he is the Messiah, the chosen of God and king of Israel⟩ Matt. 27[42] [if he is the king of Israel], let him now descend from the cross, that we may see, and believe on him. vs.[43] Having trusted in God, let him deliver him now, if he has pleasure in him, for he said, I am the Son of God. Lk. 23[36] But the soldiers also mocked him, *drawing near* (coming) ⟨to him⟩ and offering him vinegar, and said ⟨to him⟩ vs.[37] if thou art the king of the Jews, save thyself. ⟨Matt. 27[44] In like manner the robbers also that were crucified with him reproached him.⟩ vs.[39] But one of the ⟨two⟩ evildoers who were crucified ⟨with him⟩ railed on him ⟨and⟩ he said, If thou art the Messiah ⟨then⟩ save thyself, *also us* (and save us also). vs.[40] But *the other* (his companion) [answered him] rebuked him ⟨and⟩ he said ⟨to him⟩ Dost thou not fear God, ⟨and⟩ thou art ⟨also⟩ in the same condemnation? vs.[41] And we justly, *for we are equally rewarded for those things which we did* (and as we have deserved and according as we have done are we rewarded). But this one has done nothing which is evil. vs.[42] And he said to Jesus, Remember *us* (me) O Lord, when thou comest into thy kingdom. vs.[43] [And] Jesus said to him, Verily I say to thee, to-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise.

(5) A part of the lesson "Of the worship of the cross," to be read daily, title-number 207. It stands in columns xliii–xliv, which are written on a new paper leaf, and corresponds to chapter 52[25-36] of the Arabic Diatessaron.

Lectionary *A*	Arabic Diatessaron
Jn. 19[25a]	Same
Lk. 23[51]	Same
Mk. 15[40-42a]	Same
Matt. 27[56]	Same
Matt. 27[59]	———
———	Mk. 15[42a] Jn. 19[38a]
Jn. 19[38-42] Mk. 15[46]	Same
Matt. 27[60]	Same

Translation:

Jn. 19[38] He was [also] a disciple of Jesus, but he concealed himself *from fear* (being afraid) of the Jews. Lk. 23[51a] *This one* (he) had not consented to *the* (their) counsel and their deeds, ⟨of the accusers⟩ ⟨and⟩ he was [also] looking for the kingdom of God. Mk. 15[43] ⟨And this one came⟩ and he *went boldly to* (entered unto) Pilate and demanded ⟨of him⟩ the body of Jesus. vs.[44] But Pilate was surprised, *if he was already dead* (how he had already died), and calling the centurion he asked him *if he had died* (about his death) before the time. vs.[45a] And when he had learned [from the centurion], Matt. 27[58] [then] *Pilate* (he) commanded ⟨him⟩ *to deliver up the body* (that his body be delivered up) ⟨to Joseph⟩ [vs.[59] And Joseph took the body. He wrapped it in linen] ⟨Mk. 15[46a] And Joseph bought clean cotton cloth. He took the body of Jesus and wrapped it in it. Jn. 19[38d] And they came and took it.⟩ Jn. 19[39] Then came ⟨unto him⟩ also Nicodemus, who had come before to Jesus by night, ⟨and⟩ bringing ⟨with him⟩ a mixture of myrrh and aloe about a hundred pounds. vs.[40] They then took the body of Jesus and wrapped it in the cotton *with* (and) the aromatics, as the custom of the Jews is to bury. vs.[41] But there was in the place where *he* (Jesus) was crucified a garden, and in the garden [his] new tomb, hewn out in the rock; in it had never been placed any man. vs.[42] There then, because *of the preparation of the Jews* (the sabbath had entered in) and because the tomb was near, they *placed* (left) Jesus. Matt. 27[60a] And *he* (they) rolled a great stone ⟨and thrust it⟩ into the door of the tomb and *he* (they) departed.

The comparison shows that these five sections are unquestionably derived from the same source as the Arabic Diatessaron. Not only are there numerous instances in which the same passages have been taken, although the parallel from another Gospel would have answered equally well, but such a complicated case as Matt. 26[50], distributed by both lectionary and Diatessaron among three places standing in the same order and connection, is in itself conclusive. Other interesting agreements are the omission of Lk. 23[38] from the passage Lk. 23[36-43], and the insertion in Jn. 19[41] of the words "hewn out of the rock," derived from Mk. 15[46].

This discovery seems to open the way to a line of inves-

tigation in the history of the Diatessaron of Tatian for which large materials are easily accessible in the libraries of Europe and America as well as in the Orient. Such an investigation would throw light at the same time on the history and relations of the Harclean Syriac version, a subject which has long been known to have a direct bearing on the criticism of the Greek text of the New Testament.

H. H. S.

[NOTE.—Some idea of the available material can be gained from the following imperfect lists of mss. known to contain a passion harmony. It may be deemed certain that in addition many others of the lectionaries mentioned by Gregory and in the catalogues of libraries contain a harmony of one or another type.

I. Jacobite mss. with Harclean passion harmony

CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND.

University Library, add. 1700, 1170 A.D. (Wright, p. 6; Gregory, 1; formerly cod. Mohl);
add. 1903 (Wright, p. 1130).

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS.

The Semitic Museum of Harvard University has possessed for some years a Harclean lectionary (somewhat mutilated) with harmonic lessons, and has lately come into possession of several Harclean lectionaries among the Syriac mss. collected by Professor J. Rendel Harris.

FLORENCE.

Bibl. Laur. I. 40, 757 A.D. (Assemani, 3; Adler, 1; Gregory, 22).

JERUSALEM.

Jacobite Monastery, Lectionary *A*, 1262 A.D.
Lectionary *B*, 1221 A.D.

LONDON.

British Museum, add. 7163, saec. ix or x (Forshall, 19; Gregory, 2);
add. 7165, saec. xiii (Forshall, 21; Gregory, 4);
add. 7166, saec. xiv (?) (Forshall, 22; Gregory, 5);
add. 7169, saec. xii (Forshall, 25; Gregory, p. 851);
add. 7170, 1216–1220 A.D. (Forshall, 26; Gregory, p. 851);
add. 7171, 1173 A.D. (Forshall, 27; Gregory, p. 851).

OXFORD.

Bodleian Library, Dawk. 50 (Payne Smith, 43).

PARIS.

Bibl. Nat., Syr. 14, 1203 A.D. (Zotenberg, 31; Gregory, p. 837, 73; facsimile in Martin, *Introduction; Partie théorique*, p. iv);
Syr. 22, 1138 A.D. (Zotenberg, 51; Gregory, p. 852);
Syr. 26, saec. xii (Zotenberg, 38; Gregory, p. 838, 80);
Syr. 37 (Zotenberg, 59; Gregory, p. 852);
suppl. Syr. 87, 1165 A.D. (Zotenberg, 52; Gregory, 12).

ROME.

Barberini Library, VI. 32 (formerly 105) (Adler, 6; Gregory, p. 859).
Vatican Library, Syr. 266, saec. vii (Adler, 4; Gregory, 25);
Syr. 268, 859 A.D. (Martin, *Introduction; Partie théorique*, p. 161; Assemani, 11; Gregory, 27; see S. E. Assemani in J. White, *Sacrorum evangeliorum versio Syriaca Philoxeniana*, 1778, pp. 641 ff.);
probably also Cod. Angelicus, saec. xiii (?) (Adler, 3; Gregory, 23), and at least Vat. Syr. 35 and Vat. Syr. 36 (Gregory, pp. 851 f.).

II. Jacobite mss., Peshitta (?)

LONDON.

British Museum, add. 18714, 1214 A.D. (Wright, 226).
[Martin's reference, in *Introduction; Partie pratique*, iv. p. 123, to B. M. add. 17190 seems to be a mistake.]

III. Nestorian mss.

CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND.

University Library, Oo 1. 17, saec. xvi (Wright, p. 1063);
add. 1975, 1586 A.D. (Wright, p. 58).

LONDON.

British Museum, Egerton 681, 1206–1207 A.D. (Wright, 248);
add. 7161, saec. x (Forshall, 17; Gregory, 9);
add. 17928, saec. xi (Wright, 246).

IV. Malkite (?) ms.

ST. PETERSBURG.

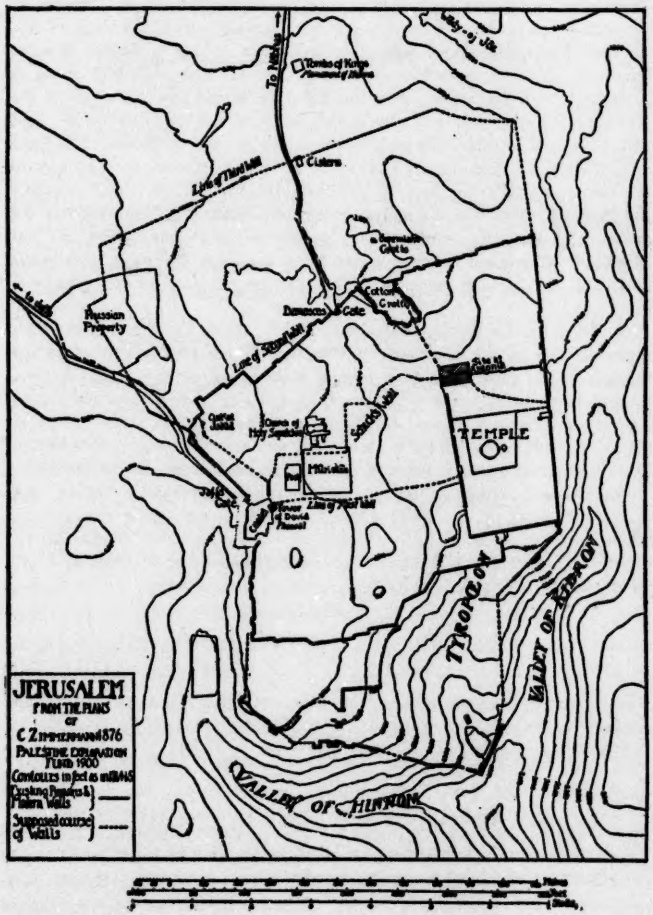
Imperial Public Library. A tiny fragment of a passion harmony (saec. viii) in the Palestinian Syriac dialect is published by J. P. N. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. iv., 1875, pp. Lat. 188 (Fol. 55), 204, Syr. 217 (Gregory, p. 827, 4).

Further valuable information regarding the mss. mentioned above, including an exact statement of the composition of some of the harmonic lessons in a number of them, will be found in J. G. C. Adler, *Novi Testamenti versiones Syriacae*, 1789, in Gregory, *Prolegomena*, 1894, in the writings of Martin cited above (p. 181, note), and in the printed catalogues of the several libraries by Assemani, Forshall, Payne Smith, Zotenberg, and Wright. In the present note a few of the mss. named have been included, and some have been classified, on the authority of statements by Martin which could not be verified.

Martin thinks he can distinguish three Jacobite and two Nestorian forms of the Syriac passion harmony, but his results do not appear to rest on any exhaustive researches. Of the Jacobite forms one (shorter than the others) is contained in cod. B. M. add. 18714, in which ms. a note refers to Rabban Daniel of Beth Batin as the author of the harmony. With this seem to correspond the harmonies contained in the Paris cod. Syr. 22, cod. Barb. VI. 32, cod. Vat. 268, and perhaps cod. B. M. add. 7171. A second Jacobite harmony, of a "more developed" type, and the most elaborate of all, is found in the Paris codices, Syr. 14, Syr. 26, suppl. Syr. 87. One of the Nestorian forms is found in the British Museum codices, Egerton 681 and add. 17923. The other Martin appears to find in cod. B. M. add. 7161 [and add. 17190]. A fifth form (Jacobite?) is of less importance than any of the others, and is to be found in the Paris cod. Syr. 37. It is said to follow the Peshitta. That the Monophysite Patriarch Michael (1126–1199) was the author of a harmony is affirmed by a note in the Paris cod. Syr. 289, but appears to be subject to some doubt. See the clear statement in Martin's note in Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, iv. p. 483, also *Introduction; Partie pratique*, iii. p. 122 f.

To Martin is due the suggestive observation that in the Greek lectionaries harmonic lessons are practically unknown, but that they are found in the western rituals most affected by oriental custom, namely the Mozarabic rite, the old Gallican rite as seen in the Lectionary of Luxeuil, and the Sacramentary of Bobbio published by Mabillon (perhaps also in the old German rite). St. Augustine seems to have referred to such a passion harmony in Latin in the interesting passage, *Sermo* 232, Migne vol. xxxviii. col. 1108.

On Syriac lectionaries, see F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, i. 1896, pp. lix–lx; G. Bickell, *Conspectus rei Syrorum literariae*, Münster, 1871, pp. 59 ff., 99 f. On the use of the Harclean version in the "divine offices," see J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, vol. ii, 1721, pp. 23, 94.


JERUSALEM
FROM THE PLANS
OF
C. Z
PALESTINE EXPLORATION
FUND 1900
Contours in feet as in
Existing Remains &
Historic Walls
Supposed course
of Walls
TEMPLE
Mosque
Russian
Property
Line of Third Wall
Line of Second Wall
Line of First Wall
Damascus Gate
Cotton's Crucifix
Grotto of Jeremiah
Tombs of Kings
Monument of Absalom
To Nablus
To Jaffa
Jaffa Gate
Cisterns
Pools of Gihon
Upper Pool
Lower Pool
Site of Citadel
Tyropoeon
Valley of Kidron
Valley of Hinnom

The Third Wall of Jerusalem and Some Excavations on its Supposed Line

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THE city of Jerusalem lies on a V-shaped plateau between the deep, rocky gorges of the Kidron and the Hinnom. By these gorges it is cut off from the surrounding ridges on the east, south, and west. Only toward the north is there open country, for here the plateau joins on to the broad table-land of central Judæa. Toward this quarter, accordingly, Jerusalem has expanded, and the successive enlargements have necessitated the building of new walls. These have served not merely to enclose the suburbs, but also to strengthen the city on its weakest side. On the sides toward the valleys a single rampart was sufficient to withstand the most powerful enemy. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 4[1]; *B. J.* i. 7[1]), Pompey made a reconnaissance and came to the conclusion that from these quarters assault was impossible. According to *B. J.* v. 6[2], Titus made a similar examination and came to the same conclusion. All the other besiegers of Jerusalem have held the same opinion, and the result has been that every attack known to history has been made from the north. Here the city has no natural defence, and here also it is possible to operate large bodies of troops. On this side, accordingly, it was necessary that Jerusalem should have several lines of fortification. As early, apparently, as the reign of Manasseh a second wall was erected on the north (2 Chr. 33[14]), and a third wall was begun by Agrippa about 40 A.D. (*B. J.* v. 4[2]) and was hastily finished by the Jews at the time of the revolt (*B. J.* ii. 11[6],

v. 4[3]). Thus arose the condition of things described by Josephus in *B. J.* v. 4[1]: "The city had been fortified with three walls, except in those parts where it was encompassed with impassable ravines, for there it had only one enclosing wall."

In describing the course of the first, or innermost, of these walls, Josephus starts with the tower called Hippicus and goes eastward toward the Temple. Then he returns to Hippicus and goes southward around the west hill, eastward toward Siloam, and northward to the east wall of the Temple (*B. J.* v. 4[2]). This shows that Hippicus must have stood at the northwest corner of the inner city. The same conclusion is necessitated by the description of the third wall, which is said to have also started at Hippicus and to have run thence around the northern suburbs to the northeast corner of the Temple, where it again joined the first wall. Hippicus is further described (*B. J.* v. 4[3]) as lying over against (ἄντικρυς) the Tower of Psephinus, which stood at the northwest corner of the third wall, and as situated alongside of two other great towers called Phasaëlus and Mariamme. The three towers (in the order, Hippicus, Phasaëlus, Mariamme) stood, according to *B. J.* v. 4[4], on high ground in the northern line of the first wall north of the palace of Herod. Hippicus, according to *B. J.* v. 4[3], was twenty-five cubits square, and Mariamme twenty cubits square. All were built of blocks of white stone twenty cubits long, ten cubits broad, and five cubits high. At the time when Titus destroyed the walls, according to *B. J.* vii. 1[1], these three towers were left standing.

These passages lead us to look for Hippicus at a point near the Jaffa Gate in the west wall of the present city. Here two valleys, one running south, the other running east, met; and here, therefore, was the natural northwest corner of the ancient city. At this point stands the citadel of modern Jerusalem. In its northern wall is a massive tower, now popularly known as the Tower of David, whose lower courses contain immense blocks of stone, like those described by Josephus and with characteristic Jewish dressing. There

is no room for doubt that this is Phasaëlus, and that Hippicus stood near the modern tower a little farther west. Here we have a sure starting-point for determining the course of the first wall. From Hippicus, according to Josephus, it ran eastward past the Xystus and the Council-house to the west cloister of the Temple. It must, therefore, have followed the edge of the hill above the west arm of the Tyropœon until this joined the north arm, and then have crossed the valley straight to the Temple.

The second wall is described by Josephus (*B. J.* v. 4[2]) as beginning at the Gate Genath in the first wall, as encircling (*κυκλούμενον*) only the northern part of the city, and as ending at the Tower of Antonia at the northwest angle of the Temple. The third wall is described in the same passage as beginning at the Tower Hippicus, running thence to the Tower Psephinus, thence past the monument of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, through the Royal Caverns, past the Fuller's Monument, to the northeast angle of the Temple. From these accounts the course of these two walls cannot be determined, and we are forced to turn to archæology for help.

Along the line of the present north wall numerous ancient remains have been discovered. In laying foundations for the Grand New Hotel in 1885 a wall of huge Jewish stones was discovered running in a northwesterly direction from the so-called Tower of David. This wall serves now as a foundation for the east wall of the hotel, and unfortunately is no longer visible. Following the street east of the hotel, parallel to the present city wall, we reach in five minutes the School of the Latin Patriarchate in the northwest corner of the city. Here formerly lay the extensive ruins known as Qal'at Jalûd, or Goliath's Castle. Most of these have been removed to make room for the school, but in the cellar part of a wall of massive Jewish stones, similar to those in the Tower of David and under the Grand New Hotel, has been left in place. It is hard to believe that this is not a continuation of the piece of wall found under the Grand New Hotel. Along the entire course of the present north

wall as far as the Damascus Gate traces of the same old wall have been discovered. At the Damascus Gate ancient drafted stones still appear above ground, and the top of the ancient gate is still seen built into the foundations of the modern gate. There is good archæological evidence, accordingly, that an old Jewish wall followed substantially the course of the present city wall from the Jaffa Gate on the west to the Damascus Gate on the north. Which wall then was this? Was it the second described by Josephus, or the third? This is one of the fundamental problems of Jerusalem topography, and to it no satisfactory answer has yet been given.

Let us first consider the theory which identifies these remains with the third wall of Josephus.

1. In support of this theory, appeal is made to the location of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre inside of this wall. According to Matt. 27[32], Mark 15[20], John 19[17-20, 41], Heb. 13[12], Christ was crucified and buried outside of the city wall, that is, outside of the second wall, since Agrippa's wall had not yet been built. If the traditional site of the Sepulchre be correct, then the present wall cannot be the second wall, but must be the third wall that was erected after the crucifixion.

Unfortunately, the genuineness of the Sepulchre rests upon too slender historical evidence for its location to be a decisive argument in the case. There is, doubtless, an unbroken chain of tradition back to the time of Constantine's founding of the Church, but during the two preceding centuries evidence fails us. It is easy to assert that Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, must have had good reason for selecting this spot when the order came to search for the true cross, but it is impossible to prove this. It is claimed that the first Christians must have reverenced the Sepulchre as a sacred spot and must have transmitted a knowledge of its location to their successors, but of this there is no evidence in the New Testament or elsewhere. It is claimed also that the interval between the crucifixion and the reign of Constantine is so short that memory of the location of Golgotha could easily have been preserved, but when one remembers the vicissitudes that attended the flight of the Christians, the siege of

the city, its destruction by Titus, and all the changes that were effected by later emperors, one questions whether it is likely that knowledge of the spot survived. The false traditions in regard to Zion, City of David, Gihon, and most other localities of ancient Jerusalem show rather that the thread of authentic tradition was broken at the time of the fall of the city, and that all subsequent identifications were worthless guesses. Eusebius nowhere tells us that Macarius knew a tradition in regard to the location of Golgotha; in fact, he expressly informs us that the tomb of Christ was found "contrary to expectation"; and later historians assert that the discovery of the spot was miraculous. When one considers the ease with which holy places have been identified, and are still identified, by interested ecclesiastics, one is not sure that Macarius must have had the best of historical evidence before he gratified the emperor by informing him that the true cross and the Holy Sepulchre had been discovered. The location of the third wall cannot be determined, therefore, by an appeal to the position of Constantine's Church. This question must be decided on its own merits without regard to the bearing of the answer for or against the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre.

2. It is claimed that traces of a second wall are found between the first wall and the present wall, and that, therefore, the present wall must correspond with the third wall. The ruins of the Mûristân south of the Sepulchre were formerly supposed to be partly remains of a city wall, but the clearing of this spot incidental to the building of the new German Church has disproved this hypothesis. Sepp thought that he had found a city gate east of the Sepulchre, but further excavation has shown that this is Byzantine work and is probably part of Constantine's erections. The most elaborate attempt to trace a second wall inside of the Sepulchre is that of Schick in the proceedings of the Russian Palestinian Society for 1884, and subsequently in the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1885, part 4. Schick notices a line of cisterns south and east of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which leads him to conjecture that a city

moat once ran here. East of the Sepulchre he finds some ancient stones which he supposes belonged to a city wall. On the strength of these discoveries he lays down the following line for the second wall. It began with the ancient drafted blocks under the Grand New Hotel and ran a short distance northwest. Then it turned northeast and followed the street known as Ḥârat el-Mawâzine, which is the short cut from the Hotel to the Church of the Sepulchre. Thence it ran due east a thousand feet south of the Church of the Sepulchre, turned suddenly at a right angle, and ran first north and then east to the northwest corner of the Temple.

This view has found wide acceptance, and this course for the second wall has been put down as probable on most of the recent maps of Jerusalem, for instance, those of Benzinger in Baedeker's *Palestine*, Buhl in his *Geographie des alten Palästina*, Guthe in Hauck's *Realencyclopädie* and in the *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch*, Meyer in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, George Adam Smith in the *Encyclopædia Biblica;* nevertheless, it is doubtful whether any of the remains that Schick discovered are really parts of a city wall. The bit of masonry southwest of the Church of the Sepulchre has no resemblance to the great wall under the Grand New Hotel. Cisterns and cellars could not be dug within the sacred precincts of the Holy Sepulchre, but would be dug as near to them as possible. Thus they would come in course of time to form an almost unbroken chain around the Church and its adjacent chapels. Their presence, therefore, is no evidence of an original moat at this point. The remains east of the Church consist of massive drafted stones similar to those under the Grand New Hotel, but the portal which they enclose suggests that they belong to a public building rather than to a city wall. The scarps discovered east of the Church of the Sepulchre seem to be natural rock terraces. They bear no resemblance to the splendid artificial cuttings at the southwest corner of the city. An impartial investigation of these remains leads one to the conclusion reached by Sir Charles Wilson (*PEF, Quarterly Statement*, 1908, p. 247): "From an archæological point of view . . . there is no sufficient

proof that the masses of masonry which are supposed to have formed part of the [second] wall ever belonged to it." Sir Charles is favorable on the whole to the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre, so that this cannot be regarded as the testimony of a prejudiced witness.

3. In support of the theory that the third wall is to be identified with the present wall it is urged that the ruins of Qal'at Jalûd near the northwest corner of the modern city correspond with the Tower of Psephinus, which, according to Josephus, *B. J.* v. 4^3, stood at the northwest corner of the third wall; and that the caverns known as Jeremiah's Grotto and the Cotton Grotto east of the Damascus Gate correspond with the Royal Caverns through which Josephus says the third wall passed before reaching the Temple. There is nothing, however, about the ruins of Qal'at Jalûd that identifies them specifically with the Tower of Psephinus. According to *B. J.* v. 4^2 the second wall had forty towers, and these ruins may belong to one of these towers quite as well as to Psephinus. The name Royal Caverns is far too vague to allow any certain identification with the quarries known as Jeremiah's Grotto and the Cotton Grotto.

These are the main arguments that are adduced to prove that the present north wall corresponds with the third wall. None of them can be regarded as conclusive. Let us now look at some considerations that are opposed to this identification:

1. The second wall as traced by Schick follows an inconceivably bad course. A glance at the contour map shows that it is on low ground all the way, while it might have stood on high ground, if it had been moved a few hundred feet to the north.

2. The zigzag course pursued by this wall is also very unlikely. It makes three rectangular bends with no apparent reason except to keep inside of the Church of the Sepulchre, although by going outside of the Sepulchre it might have shortened the distance and have occupied higher ground. Josephus describes this wall as "circling about," κυκλούμενον. It is doubtful whether such a term could be applied to the wall as laid down by Schick.

3. If the second wall had had the singular bend inward at the Church of the Sepulchre which Schick assumes, Josephus would have mentioned this fact and have named Golgotha as the place where the deflection from the natural course occurred.

4. Josephus states (*B. J.* v. 7^3) that after the capture of the third or outer wall "Titus moved his camp so as to be within at the place called the Camp of the Assyrians, occupying all the intervening space as far as the Kidron, but keeping a sufficient distance away from the second wall so as to be out of range of missiles." This statement indicates that there was space enough between the third wall and the second for Titus's army to camp inside of the third and still be out of reach of the stones and darts that the Jews could hurl from their military engines on the second wall. No such space exists between the present wall and Schick's assumed second wall. The greatest distance between these two walls is not more than 1000 feet and at many points they are not more than 500 feet apart. This argument bears with equal force against all other theories which locate the second wall inside of the Church of the Sepulchre. They do not leave enough room between the second and the third wall to allow for the statements of Josephus.

5. In *B. J.* v. 4^3 Josephus states that the circumference of the city was 33 stadia. If the present wall is the third wall, the city cannot have measured more than 27 stadia, even if all the bends and projections of the towers are counted in.

6. The immense population that, according to Josephus, found shelter in the city at the time of the Passover points to a larger area than that included by the present north wall. The calculation of Cestius from the number of paschal lambs (*B. J.* vi. 9^3) would give a population not far from 3,000,000 at the time of the feast. According to *B. J.* vi. 9^3, 1,100,000 perished at the time of Titus's siege.

7. *Ant.* xx. 4^3 states that the outer wall was three stadia distant from the monument of Queen Helena. This monument is identified with a high degree of probability as the so-called Tombs of the Kings near the present residence of

the Anglican Bishop, but they are at least four stadia from the present city wall.

8. According to *B. J.* ii. 19[4] and v. 2[3] Titus pitched his camp on Scopus, seven stadia distant from the city. Scopus is doubtless the high plateau north of Wâdy-ej-Jôz, and it is considerably more than seven stadia from the present north wall. Those who identify the third wall with the present north wall are compelled to assert that in all these passages Josephus exaggerates the size of the city, but no reason for exaggeration appears, and the consistency of his statements with one another indicates rather that he has told the truth. These considerations seem to show that the third wall cannot be identified with the present wall.

This brings us to a consideration of the second possible theory, namely, that the present wall is the second wall, and that the third wall lay considerably further toward the north.

In 1838 Robinson found numerous traces of this wall still extant, and he was able to plot its course from the northwest corner of the city to the Nâblus road (*Biblical Researches in Palestine*[1], i. 465 ff.). He describes ancient stones similar to those in the Tower of David and rock-hewn foundations of towers. Old residents of Jerusalem assure me that they remember a time when great drafted stones of this wall were still to be seen in the open country north of the city, and their descriptions of the size and the dressing of these stones correspond with the account given by Robinson.[1] The growth of the modern city has, however, obliterated all traces of this wall. For a distance of a third of a mile from the present north wall the land has been thickly covered with houses, and ancient stones have been broken up and used as building material. The Russians have taken care that no vestiges remain of the wall that Robinson was able to trace on their extensive grounds northwest of the city. Others have been equally active in destroying evidence of it on the line running northeast from the Russian grounds. Things have now gone so far that people are able to assert that there never

[1] See also S. Merrill, "A Section of Agrippa's Wall," *PEF, Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 158 f.

were any traces of a wall outside of the present wall, and that Robinson was mistaken when he thought he saw them. I am willing to admit that Robinson could make mistakes, but I am sure that he knew a Jewish stone when he saw it, and that the dozen or more people who assure me that they have seen such stones cannot all be mistaken. It is easier to explain the disappearance of these stones with their unwelcome testimony against the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre than it is to explain how so many people could have been victims of optical hallucination.

In spite of the systematic work of destruction, traces of this wall still occasionally turn up. When the foundations were dug for the house of Baron Ustinow at the corner of the cross-road leading from the Nâblus road to the Jaffa road, one or two ancient stones were found. In the land back of Mr. Hanauer's house others have been seen when cisterns were dug. Unfortunately, these have all been covered up again. One of the first duties of the Jerusalem archæologist, it seems to me, is to search for remains of this wall and to establish its existence or non-existence before it is too late to gather evidence.

During my nine months' residence in Jerusalem I explored many times along the line laid down by Robinson. I found several places where the surface suggested that stones might be buried, but I could get no permission to dig in these spots. The only place where remains were visible that might have belonged to the third wall was at a point north of St. Stephen's Church and east of the Nâblus road. Here, in a field back of some houses occupied by Sephardim Jews, is an old cistern, thirty feet long, twenty feet broad, and fifteen feet deep. The east, west, and south sides of this are built of small broken stones, but on the north side four huge stones fill the entire length of the top of the cistern. These average seven feet in length by five feet in height. They have a broad marginal draft, and resemble closely the great stones at the Wailing Place. It cannot be doubted that they are of Jewish workmanship. They are in the same east and west line with the remains that Robinson discovered west of the Nâblus road.

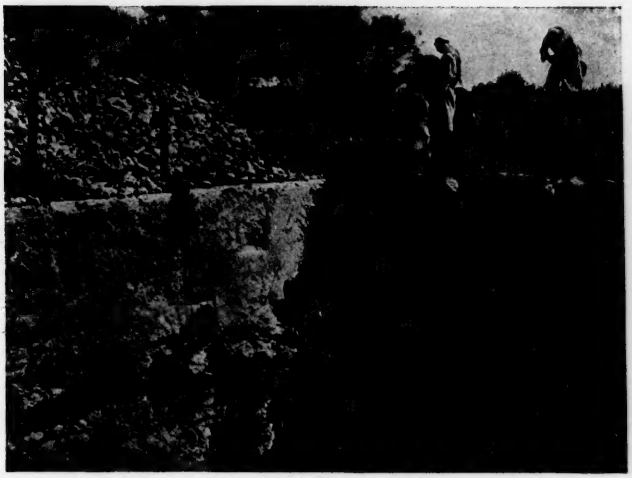

FIG. 1

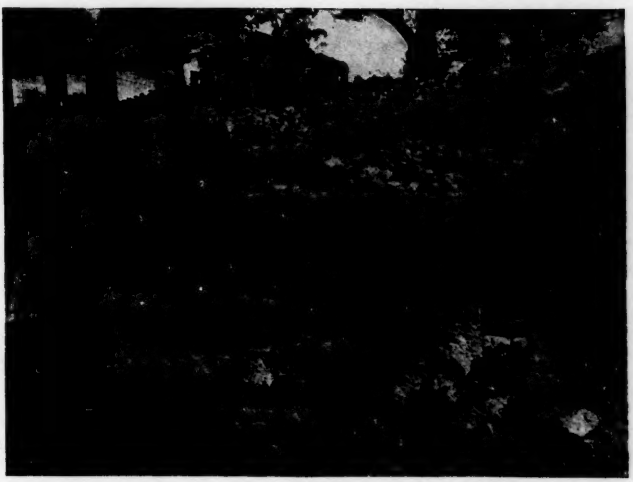

FIG. 2

DRESSED ROCK-FACE ON NORTH SIDE OF CISTERN

XUM

The conjecture is plausible that they are vestiges of the lost third wall. These stones were not seen by Robinson, but they were investigated by Wilson, and are described by him in the *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, 1865, p. 72. Wilson dug a pit in front of one of the stones in the corner of the cistern to see how far down it extended, and he also cut a trench west of the stones to see if he could discover another portion of the wall; but his examination was too superficial to establish anything in regard to the real character of the stones. As he himself remarks, "After ascertaining its [the pool's] character it was not considered advisable to incur further expense by continuing the shaft to the bottom."

About 1875 Schick made another examination which apparently he did not report at the time, but in the *Quarterly Statement* for 1895, p. 30, he alludes to this investigation. At the time of this report he was convinced that the second wall ran inside of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, so that he was not disposed to regard favorably any evidences for a third wall outside of the present city wall. He remarks as follows: "Immediately westward [of the stones] I found the rock, and in it rock-hewn tombs; also in searching the north side of the wall I soon came to the rock, and ascertained that the thickness of the wall is fourteen feet. I intended to dig also on the east, but then the proprietor of the ground hindered me. It seems that there is no continuation eastward." How did he know this, if he did not dig? "Thinking the matter over and over again, I came to the conclusion that it was not a wall in the general meaning, but simply a tomb monument, and that this 'pool,' if we may call it so, is simply the court sunk into the ground, like that at the 'Tombs of the Kings,' only much smaller. In the immediate neighborhood there are other similar tanks, as may be seen on the plan. Once a stair went down into them, and in one of the side walls was the small entrance into the tombs. Afterward, in the Mohammedan time, these sunken courts were converted into pools for water, the sides being covered with masonry of small stones and then cemented. . . . I think further, that if the pool in which trees are

now standing, which proves that there is a good layer of earth, were cleared out, and the cement masonry taken away, the entrance to rock-cut tombs would appear under this wall and north of it, as there I found the rock near the surface of the ground. Jews are now residing in this neighborhood, and cast their rubbish into this pool, so that in a few years it will be filled up and disappear. I mention this in the hope that excavations may be made. The proprietors would probably give permission."

Some time after this Schick was commissioned by the Exploration Fund to clear out this cistern. He did so, throwing all the rubbish on top of the large stones, thus greatly interfering with the investigation of their true character. He discovered no tomb-entrances such as he predicted would appear. I understand that he wrote to the officers of the Fund that nothing of interest was to be found here. No public report that I have been able to find ever appeared, and the unsubstantiated tomb-theory remained Schick's last word on the subject.

I could not help feeling that these ancient stones deserved a more careful investigation than they had yet received and, accordingly, I made inquiries in regard to the ownership of the land in which they stood. I found that there was a large number of part owners, but that these were represented by two wakils or "trustees," one of whom was a British resident, the other an educated Moslem. These two granted permission to dig, on condition that I should leave everything as I had found it and make good any damage done to the grain that was standing on the land. I secured four men from Silwân who had worked under Dr. Frederick Bliss in excavating the south wall of the city, and we began digging. Dr. Spoer, the Fellow of the American School, and I took turns in superintending, for we found that even Dr. Bliss's training was not enough to make the men work when they were not watched. It seemed desirable to ascertain first how thick the wall was and what lay on its north side. Wilson says that he found nothing but oil-cisterns north of it. Schick says that he found the north face at a

distance of fourteen feet from the exposed south face. We started at the northeast corner and ran a trench northward through the immense heap of earth that Schick had taken out of the cistern. We found an uneven rock surface rising toward the north and divided up by cemented partitions into sections three or four feet square rising one above another and opening into one another. These were evidently designed to catch mud in the water flowing off the surface and prevent its coming into the cistern. I could see no traces of the oil-tanks that Wilson thought he recognized, unless he regarded this filtering system as a series of oil receptacles. In spite of Schick's assertion that the "thickness of the wall is fourteen feet," I found no trace of a north face opposite to the one exposed in the tank. A tunnel pushed northward as far as we dared to go showed no end to the rock surface. It thus became evident that we were not dealing with hewn stones but merely with a face of native rock that had been dressed to simulate stones. In order to make sure whether this were the case, I ran another trench westward along the top of the wall to the point where the first stone ended, and there found that the separation between the stones extended only four inches from the south face, and that beyond that depth the two stones formed one continuous mass of rock. This fact was not discovered either by Wilson or Schick, and I confess that it was a great surprise to me. The stones have all the appearance of the great stones in the enclosing wall of the Harâm. In most places the space between them is so small that a knife's blade cannot be inserted, in other places the blade may be thrust in up to the handle. Who would have supposed that the drafting and the lines between the stones were all a fraud? I had the workmen pull out the grass from the joints and examine them carefully, and it then appeared that the joints were drilled with some narrow instrument to a depth of about four inches. On these stones Conder remarks in the article "Jerusalem" in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 596, "There are some fine stones in the side of a tank farther north, which may have belonged to the third wall, but they are not apparently in

situ." In the light of the investigation just described this view is impossible. These supposed stones are native rock, and are therefore very much *in situ*.

The next question to be investigated was whether this rock cutting extended farther east and west than the portion exposed on the side of the cistern. Both Wilson and Schick had dug westward and had found no continuation. I contented myself, therefore, with merely exposing the northwest corner of the cistern. Here I found that the wall descended in two steps to level rock, and that there was no evidence of its having continued farther westward. I also dug at the northeast corner of the cistern and found the wall descending again in two steps to level rock. We ran a trench some distance and cut two cross trenches in hope of picking up the wall again, but without results. Just at this time I fell victim to a serious eye malady, and the physician forbade my working longer in the bright sunlight, so that I was obliged to conclude my investigations more hastily than I wished. I should like to see a more thorough investigation of the ground east of the wall. It is open field where digging can easily be done, and it seems to me very likely that other cuttings similar to that seen in the face of the cistern would be found.

And now, in conclusion, what is one to think of the character of these remains? Schick's theory that they formed part of a sunken rock-cut tomb is disproved by closer examination. The cistern is not cut out of solid rock, like the antechamber of a tomb, but is rock-cut only on the north side, and on the other sides is built up with Arab masonry of small stones. There are no tomb-chambers opening off any of the sides. Schick made diligent search for them all around the cistern in order to prove his hypothesis, but failed to find any. Conder's theory, that these stones have been moved from some other locality to use them in building one of the walls of the cistern, is disproved by the fact that they are native rock. The only remaining theory is, that they served as foundations for some sort of building. In laying a wall a rocky ledge was encountered on the

selected line, and instead of cutting this away, its face was dressed to imitate the masonry of the wall and its ends were cut into steps so as to allow for stones to be laid upon it. Much work of this sort is to be seen around Jerusalem. Both rock scarps and ancient stones have had their faces redressed to conform to later masonry. When the wall was destroyed, the portable stones were carried off to use as building material, but the rock ledge that formed its base was not transportable, and therefore has remained in place unto this day.

What sort of a building then was it for which these cuttings served as a foundation? Their style of dressing points to some great edifice of the Jewish period. A public building is hardly to be thought of so far away from the centre of the city; and moreover, the condition of the rock surface shows that this wall cannot have enclosed any building. By far the most natural theory is, that we see here part of the foundations of Agrippa's wall. These remains are in the same line as the remains that Robinson noted west of the Nâblus road. They are in the same line with the bit of ancient wall that Wilson examined in 1864. The huge size of the stones corresponds with Josephus's statements about the stones in Agrippa's wall. The only objection to this theory is that the face of this rock cutting is turned toward the city and not away from it, as we should expect if this were a city wall. It is true that scarps usually face outward and are an important part of the defence of a city, but this consideration hardly applies to so small a cutting. If the wall were planned to follow a particular course, and it happened to run over the brow of a ledge that faced inward toward the city, it is not likely that its course would be changed on this account. All that would be done would be to cut the ledge to correspond with the masonry of the wall and use it as a foundation. On the whole, therefore, the most likely theory seems to me to be that in these stones we have the only remains now visible of the third wall of Jerusalem.

The River Arnon

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DURING the year 1905 I twice visited Wâdî el Môjib (وادي الموجب). On the 22d and 23d of February I had an opportunity of exploring the mouth of the river and its lower course for about one third of a mile, as far as to the second waterfall. On the 14th of July I reached the river at the Muḥâtet el Ḥajj (محاتت الحج), coming up from the Lisân (اللسان) and Wâdî Suweil (وادي سويل) by way of Wâdî Jerrah (وادي جرّة) and Jebel Šiḥân (جبل شيحان).

The streams that unite to form the Môjib have been well described by Brünnow,[1] who also gives extracts from the literature on the subject. My only serious doubts concern the names of the two main tributaries immediately above the junction. Brünnow calls them Ṣfoyy and Enḫêli. These are evidently the Szefye and Enkheyle of Burckhardt.[2] Tristram,[3] Hamilton,[4] and Bliss[5] seem to have been told that these rivers just above the junction were called Wâdî el Sa'ideh (وادي السعيدة) and Wâdî Muḫarras (وادي مخرّس); and this is in harmony with the information I obtained. It is not quite clear whether Brünnow bases his statement upon that of Burckhardt, or received independent confirmation.

[1] A. E. Brünnow and A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, 1904, pp. 6 ff.

[2] *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, 1822, p. 373.

[3] *The Land of Moab*, 1874, p. 131.

[4] *Oriental Zigzag*, 1875, p. 77.

[5] *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1895, p. 215.

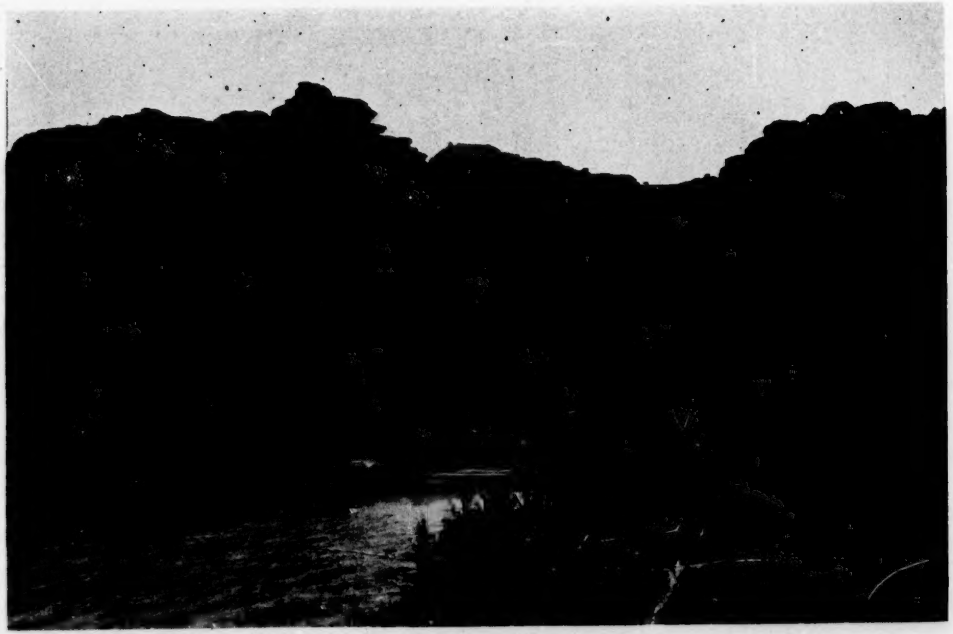

FIG. 1. — MOUTH OF THE ARNON FROM THE WEST

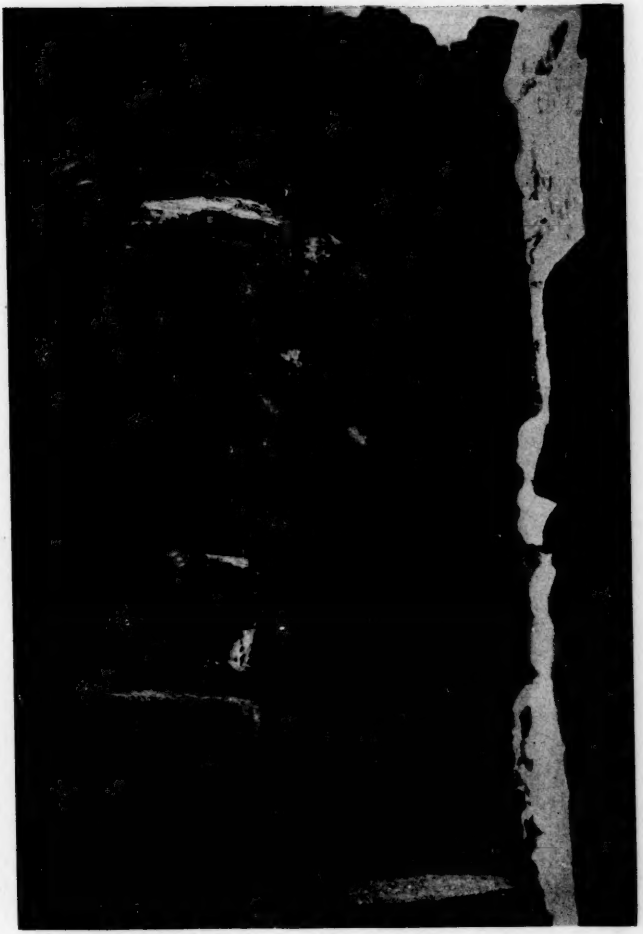

FIG. 2. — SOUTHERN WALL BELOW THE BEND OF THE ARNON

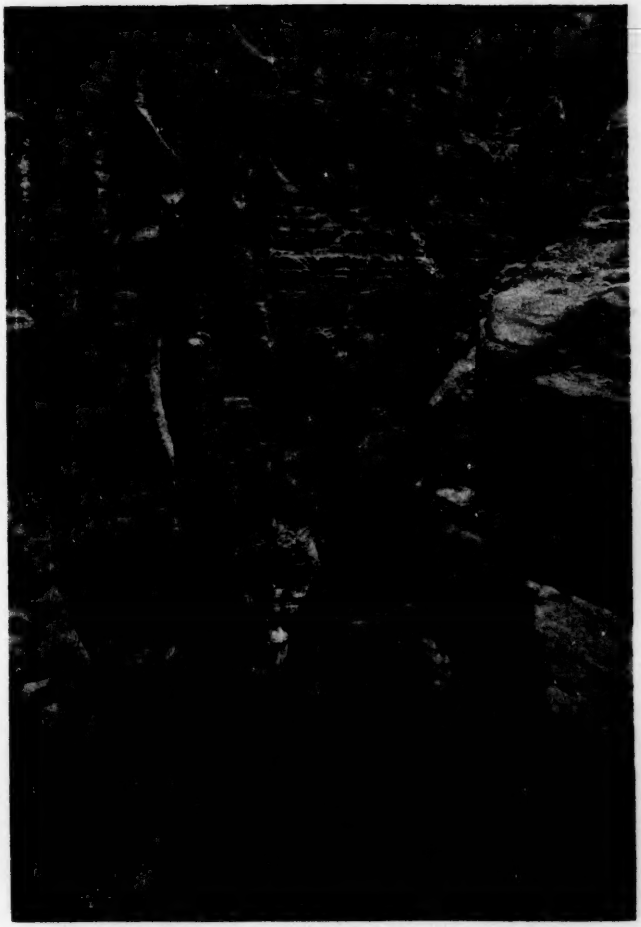

FIG. 3. — FIRST BEND OF THE ARNON TO THE SOUTH

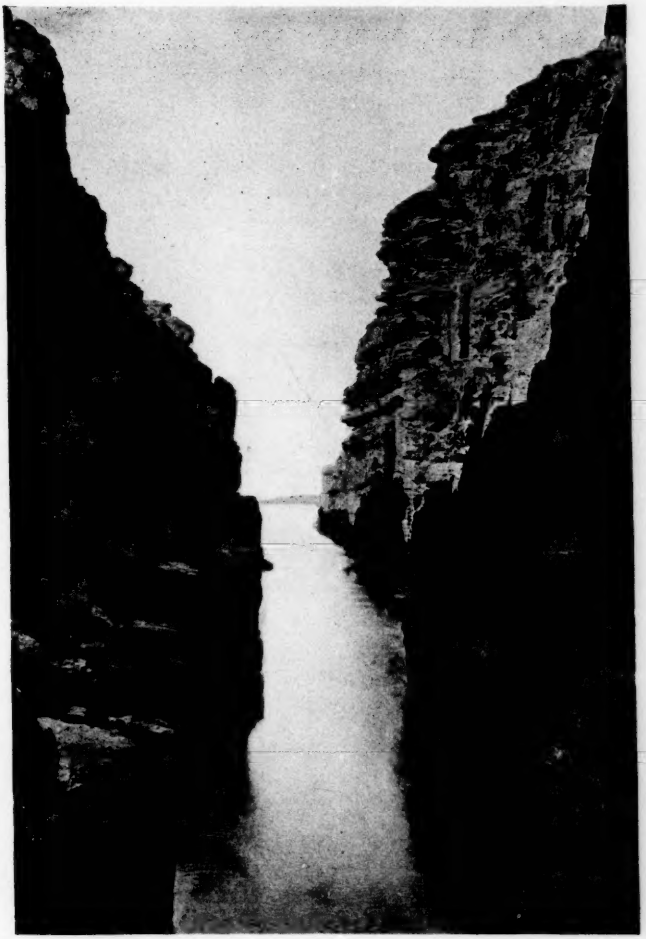

FIG. 4. — MOUTH OF THE ARNON FROM THE EAST

FIG. 5. — THE FIRST WATERFALL FROM THE WEST

FIG. 6. — SCENE ON THE ARNON BETWEEN THE MOUTH AND THE PLACE OF CROSSING

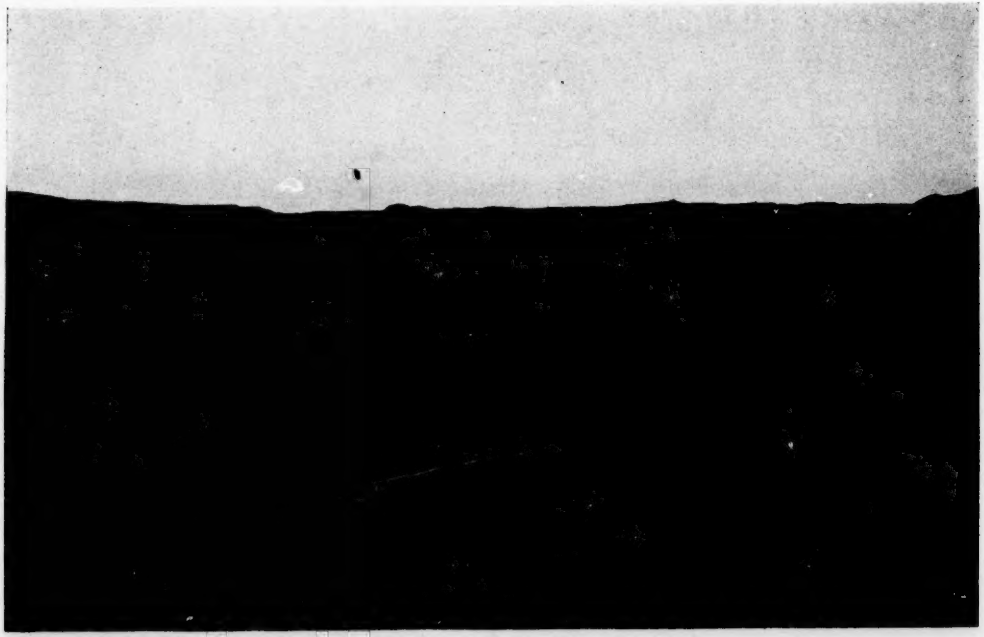

FIG. 7. — THE ARNON NEAR THE PLACE OF CROSSING

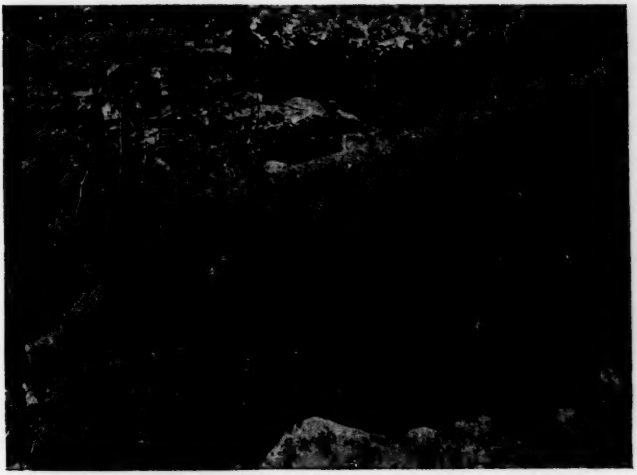

Fig. 8. — Milestone on the Southern Side of the Crossing

Fig. 9. — Milestones on the Northern Side of the Crossing

FIG. 10. — THE ARNON FROM THE MOUNTAIN NORTH OF THE CROSSING

According to one of his own notes,[6] Enḫêli is the name of a part of the main stream above the part named Wâdî el Sa'ideh.

The interests of Brünnow and Domaszewski centered upon the Roman road that led over the highlands. Their otherwise so invaluable maps, therefore, throw no new light upon the regions adjoining the 'Arabah and the Dead Sea. A systematic examination of the Môjib has never been undertaken. But each explorer has added something to our knowledge, whether he has approached the river from the sea or from the mountains.

U. J. Seetzen[7] arrived at the mouth of the Môjib January 27, 1807, in time to see the sun set and to be impressed with the beauty of the delta. He had descended from the table-land to the shore of the sea a short distance south of the river. He learned that the peninsula was called El Höshgera', and that there was a ruin on the cliff on one side of the entrance to the chasm which was called El Riadschy.[8] On the same evening he waded across the river in the delta near the gorge, and found that it was about sixty feet across, the stream being forty feet wide and nowhere deeper than to his knee. He found a grotto at the foot of the northern wall, and left by a path that led to the high plateau the following morning.

Lieutenant W. F. Lynch[9] and his party landed on the shore of the delta in front of Wâdî el Môjib May 3, 1848, at 5.25 P.M., having sailed from the Lisân in three and one half hours without stopping to examine any part of the coast. Just before sunset they went up the gorge. Lynch states

[6] *Die Provincia Arabia*, p. 6.

[7] *Reisen*, 1854, ii. p. 364.

[8] Burckhardt learned on July 14, 1812, in crossing the Wâleh that Dâr el Riâšeh (دار الرياشة) is near the entrance of the Seil Ḥeidân in the Môjib, two hours E. of the Dead Sea (*Travels in Syria*, 1822, p. 371). Otto Kersten, on the 24th of April, 1874, looked down into the Wâdî el Riyâši, a short distance above its entrance into the Môjib (*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, 1879, p. 226).

[9] *Narrative of the United States Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, 1849, pp. 367 ff.

that the chasm was ninety-seven feet wide and the stream eighty-two feet wide, and that the depth was four feet at the entrance to the chasm and ten feet at the beginning of the delta. In spite of its appearance of accuracy, the width seems to have been only estimated. There probably was fifteen feet of a beach on the southern side, and the stream, which was not crossed in boat or waded, appears to have been supposed to be a little more than five times as wide. The distance to the first bend was estimated at one hundred and fifty yards. Lynch declares that the chasm "turns with a slow and graceful curve to the southeast," and that they "walked and waded up some distance, and found the passage of the same uniform width, turning every one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards gradually to the southeast." [10]

On the ground of this statement, Rev. Putnam Cady has ventured to affirm that Lieutenant Lynch "never went up the river one hundred and fifty yards." "As I have shown," he remarks, "at that point it makes a sharp turn to the south and immediately narrows to fourteen feet. Within fifteen yards beyond this turn it narrows to four feet, and gradually turns again to the east. Twenty yards more and progress is stopped." [11]

Our photograph of the bend will show that it is, indeed, very sharp and not slow, though quite graceful. The "turning every one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards" seems to me a loose and unwarranted generalization. But Lynch evidently did not mean that the passage after the turn was uniform in width with the chasm below. He seems to have used his boat, as we did, until he was beyond the deep water, and walked and waded farther up, gaining the impression that the chasm did not vary materially in width and that it turned to the southeast some distance away. I can see no reason to doubt that Lieutenant Lynch went beyond the first sharp turn.

[10] *Narrative*, p. 368.

[11] "Exploration of the Wâdy Môjib from the Dead Sea," in *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 47.

He did not go so far as to see the first waterfall. Arriving as late in the day as he did, he evidently could not have examined the chasm very carefully. He left early the following morning.

On March 30, 1864, the Duc de Luynes[12] arrived early in the morning at the mouth of the Môjib, having passed Point Costigan during the night. He crossed the river below the entrance to the chasm and apparently spent the whole day resting in the grotto on the northern side and examining the luxuriant vegetation of the delta. Lartet went up the chasm some distance, but has left no description. He found the antlers of a chamois (*beden*, بدن), which he supposed had been shed by this animal. The Duc de Luynes estimated the height of the rocks on both sides of the entrance at thirty to fifty meters. This accords with our own estimate. On the 5th of April at 5 P.M. he arrived again at the Môjib, coming from the north, but left at 5 the following morning, without having explored the chasm.

At noon, April 23, 1874, H. Rothe[13] came to the mouth of the Môjib. He evidently waded across the river, as he climbed the rocks on the other side the next morning. Whether he counted his steps is uncertain. He declares that "the Arnon fills a slit in the rock forty steps wide, and is at the mouth about twice as wide, before it divides itself into several arms, of which the largest is ten to fifteen steps wide and one and one-half feet deep." The exact statement of the depth of the water in the largest arm may indicate that the crossing took place at that point. The width at the entrance of the gorge may then have been estimated. It is the lowest of all estimates. Apparently, the entire river-bed between the cliffs was filled with water, as on our visit, and the river, for some distance below the chasm, was considerably wider, as on the occasion when the accompanying photograph was taken.

[12] *Voyage d'exploration à la Mer Morte, à Petra, et sur la rive gauche du Jourdain*, 1874, pp. 114 ff., 123.

[13] Otto Kersten, "Umwanderung des Todten Meeres," in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, 1879, p. 223.

On February 28, 1897, Sir Gray Hill[14] landed at the mouth of the river at noon, having left the Jordan in a boat the preceding day. He was in search of an inscription and was led to a grotto some distance to the south without finding it. Returning, he crossed the river in the delta, the water reaching up to the armpits. The entrance to the gorge seemed to him "as narrow as the s'ik at Petra." He evidently did not go close to it. Yet he thought he could hear the sound of the waterfall.

Rev. Putnam Cady[15] arrived at the Môjib in a boat on February 10, 1898, at noon. He accepted Lieutenant Lynch's estimate of the width of the chasm (about one hundred feet) and of the distance to the first bend (four hundred and fifty feet). The stream appeared to him to be forty feet wide and one foot deep. As it went close to the northern wall, sixty feet of dry ground extended on the southern side. It would be interesting to know whether this land was actually measured from the mountain wall to the stream. Just above the mouth of the chasm there was a "swift rapid, with the water tumbling over the rocks." This shows that the water must have been very low at the time. Another indication of this is the appearance of a pool around the bend. The width of the passage was found to be fourteen feet. About fifteen yards beyond the turn the walls seemed to come within four feet of each other, and about twenty yards farther up all progress was stopped. The waterfall of which Mr. Cady just caught a glimpse cannot have been the one shown in the photograph accompanying this article, as that is much higher up. Possibly water tumbling over rocks farther down may have seemed more impressive when the stream was less swollen. The reconnoissance seems to have occupied the entire afternoon.

In the course of our circumnavigation of the Dead Sea, of which a preliminary account has been given in my Director's

[14] "The Dead Sea," in *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1900, pp. 273 ff.

[15] *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1901, pp. 44 ff.

Report,[16] I and my three students, A. T. Olmstead, B. B. Charles, and J. E. Wrench, arrived at the mouth of the Môjib on the 22d of February at 4.20 P.M. We found the river bed filled with water from cliff to cliff. Hence the rocks mentioned by Mr. Cady were not seen. As the middle of the stream was about two boat lengths from the southern wall, and our boat was sixteen feet long, we judged that the width of the chasm at the entrance was not less than sixty nor more than seventy-five feet. We rowed up the river, but attempted in vain to get our boat so far as to the sharp turn, and returned to our camp in the delta. The next morning at 6 we began to examine the delta, and at 7.25 started up the stream with two cameras. After about two hundred feet we landed on a sandy beach on the southern side of the river. On the opposite side there was a similar cove with a beach in front. We rowed across and having climbed up the little ravine secured the accompanying photograph of the southern cove and beach. One hundred and fifty feet farther east we landed on the rocks. Mr. Charles and Mr. Wrench climbed along the cliffs and saw the narrow and deep gorge beyond the bend. After their return to the boat, we rowed one hundred and fifty feet farther and then fastened the boat to the rocks. Mr. Olmstead, Mr. Charles, and I climbed up to the high plateau, whence the accompanying photograph of the mouth of the river from the east was taken. The prow of the boat is visible. Another photograph of the river between the first bend to the south and the next turn to the east did not come out so well. We saw no signs of ruins on the mountains south of the entrance to the chasm.

Returning to the boat, we worked our way up along the cliffs by rowing on one side and holding on to the wall on the other side. After strenuous efforts we succeeded in getting around the curve to the south, but did not reach shallow water until we had gone about five hundred feet from the last stopping place. We pulled the boat up twenty-

[16] *Fifth Annual Report of the Director of the American School for Oriental Study and Research in Palestine*, 1905.

five feet farther, and then, having fastened it to a rock, waded for four hundred feet through water, varying from a few inches to three feet. Here we came upon the small waterfall represented in the photograph. It was six feet high in one part, three feet in another. The roar of the falling water had given an impression of something far greater. The water was very swift, and it was with great difficulty we could pass through the fall on the southern side. By wading and jumping from rock to rock we reached a point three hundred feet up stream from the first fall. Here a somewhat larger fall made progress difficult. Anxiety about our boat and the supplies led us to return. We were under the impression that it would not be impossible to ascend the river. In all this distance we did not find any place where the passage narrowed down to anything like four feet, but in some places the cliffs at the top seemed to come very close together. We returned to the delta at 1.05 P.M.

On my trip from Kerak to Ghor el Mezra'ah (غور المزرعه) and Wâdî Suweil, I was accompanied by Mr. Wrench, Mr. John Whiting, and two soldiers. Partly on the way back from Abu'l Felus to Wâdî Benî Hammîdeh, and partly at Jebel Šîhân, where we spent the night of the 13th of July, I gathered some information concerning the tributaries to the Môjib below the Muhâtet el Hajj. There are three streams emptying into the Môjib from the south below Wâdî Jedeirah (وادي جديره). Brünnow[17] is not right in his suspicion that this Wâdî Jedeirah is identical with Burckhardt's Seil Jerrah. Wâdî Jerrah is, indeed, incorrectly located on the maps just south of the Môjib. In reality the only Wâdî Jerrah known to the Arabs of the region is the river bed bearing that name which runs parallel with Wâdî Benî Hammîdeh, a short distance to the north of it. While Wâdî Benî Hammîdeh is a perennial stream sending a considerable amount of water constantly into the Dead Sea, Wâdî Jerrah is dry at least in the summer, but has some springs in it.

[17] *Die Provincia Arabia*, p. 6.

Wâdî Jedeirah is no doubt the same as Seetzen's El Schdêr.[18] The tributary nearest to the sea entering the Môjib from the south is called Wâdî Bediyeh (وادي بديه).[19] Above this flows the Wâdî Defaleh (وادي دفاله), and, between this and Wâdî Jedeirah, a stream called Wâdî Deraifeh (وادي دريفه). From the north there is a tributary near the sea called Wâdî Bertah (وادي برته); above it another named Wâdî El Rammim (وادي الرمّيم), and still higher up Wâdî El Birfataš (وادي البير فتش). The greatest tributary is, of course, Seil Heidân (سيل حيدان).

It seems to me probable that the real name of the wâdî figuring on our maps as Wâdî Jerrah is Wâdî Šeḳeiḳ (وادي شقيق), and that this is, in some way, connected with the 'Ain Sgek which Seetzen[20] visited south of the Môjib. This is probably the wâdî whose delta is the most striking feature of the coast between the Môjib and the Lisân, bordered on the south by a long line of hills so even in height as to present the picture of the ramparts of a fortress. It is possible that between Wâdî Šeḳeiḳ and Wâdî Suweil, there is a Wâdî Mirrah (وادي مرّه), also called Seil Sebaieh (سيل سبيه), but this is uncertain.

The Môjib is undoubtedly identical with the Arnon of the Old Testament (ארנן) and of the Meša' inscription (ארן). The name is probably derived from the root רנן and characterizes the river as a "roaring" stream. Jerome still knew this name in its Aramaized form ארנונא, Arnonas. El Môjib seems to be a translation. It probably comes from the root وجب which means to "fall with a great noise." The difference in vocalization seems to go back to a difference in actual pronunciation. Seetzen heard it pronounced Maujêb (مَوْجِيب), Burckhardt, Môjĕb (مُوجِب), others have heard it Mûjăb (مُوجَب) and Mûjīb (مُوجِب). The unnatural

[18] *Reisen*, ii. p. 347.

[19] Seetzen's Ain Bediyeh (*Reisen*, p. 347).

[20] *Reisen*, ii. pp. 349, 362. Šeḳeiḳ is, of course, pronounced Sgeig.

lengthening of the second vowel and the vacillation in the case of the first may be due to attempts to avoid such a pronunciation of the name as would suggest El Mûjîb (المُوجِب) = "the first cause," "God." It is perhaps permissible to infer that the new name goes back to a period when the philosophical term was not yet in use, so that there could be no suggestion of a blasphemy, and to a people familiar with the lower course of the river, where alone the water falls with a wild crash. In earliest times Arnon may have been the name of the river god.

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1904

THE fortieth meeting of the Society was held in Earl Hall, Columbia University, New York City, on Tuesday and Wednesday, December 27th and 28th, 1904. The first session began at 2.15 P.M., President Beecher being in the Chair. It was voted to omit reading the records of the last meeting, as they had been distributed in print. The annual report of the Secretary was read, accepted, and placed on file. A communication from the Corresponding Secretary, excusing himself, on account of illness, from attending the sessions, was read and accepted. The Chair appointed Messrs. Brown, Torrey, and Fagnani as a Committee to nominate officers. Professor Jackson reported from the Committee of Arrangements with regard to the dinner and social hour. The Treasurer presented his report, and the Recording Secretary his financial statement. These were referred to Messrs. Bacon and Thurston as an Auditing Committee.

At 2.30 the annual address was delivered by President Beecher. Subject: "Torah, a Word Study in the Old Testament." Voted to elect three members as representatives of this Society on the Board of Managers of the American School of Oriental Research in Palestine. Messrs. Moore, Torrey, and Ropes were appointed a Committee to nominate these three members.

From 3.15 to 5 papers were read and discussed as follows: By Professor Batten: "The Conquest of Northern Canaan." By Prof. J. H. Ropes: "Note on the Interpretation of Jas. 2^{18}." By Dr. H. H. Spoer: "A Double Recension

of the Song of Songs." By Prof. J. D. Prince: "More about Nisroch-Nusku." By Dr. T. C. Foote: "The Poetical Form of the First Chapter of Nahum."

Professor Moore, from the Special Nominating Committee, recommended the election of Messrs. Thurston, Ewell, and Batten as members of the Managing Committee of the American School of Oriental Research in Palestine for the current year. Also, for next year, the President of the Society, with Messrs. Merriman and Moxom. Voted to accept the report and elect the gentlemen named. Adjourned for dinner and social hour.

Tuesday Evening, December 27. — At 7.45, directly after dinner, the Society was called to order in the Gymnasium building. Professor Jackson gave orally his "Notes on Ecbatana and Rages of Media in the Apocrypha," which were illustrated by the stereopticon. The Society then returned to Earl Hall.

Professor Brown, for the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of officers, who were then elected:

Pres. William R. Harper,	*President.*
Prof. Paul Haupt,	*Vice-President.*
Rev. William H. Cobb,	*Secretary.*
Prof. J. D. Prince,	*Treasurer.*
Dr. William Hayes Ward,	*Additional Members of the Council.*
Dr. John P. Peters,	
Prof. F. C. Porter,	

The Auditing Committee reported the financial accounts of the Treasurer and the Recording Secretary to be correct and properly cast.

The Council nominated for membership in the Society the following persons, who were then unanimously elected:

HONORARY MEMBERS

Prof. Archibald H. Sayce, D.D., Oxford.
Prof. Adolf Harnack, D.D., Berlin.

ACTIVE MEMBERS

Prof. Edward L. Bosworth, D.D., Oberlin.
Miss E. Olive Dutcher (Instructor in Bib. Lit.), Mount Holyoke College.
Rev. William Fitz-Simon, Tuxedo Park, N.Y.
Rev. Elihu Grant, A.M., East Saugus, Mass.
Rev. W. W. Guth, Ph.D., Columbia University.
Rev. Wm. H. P. Hatch, Ph.D., South Hartford, N.Y.
Prof. James R. Jewett, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
William Popper, Ph.D., Columbia University, New York City.
Prof. Elbert Russell, A.M., Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
Prof. William C. Schaeffer, D.D., Lancaster, Pa.
Prof. Halsey B. Stevenson, Auburn, N.Y.

The Council reported the election of Prof. James H. Ropes as Corresponding Secretary, and of Prof. Wm. R. Arnold and Rev. Wm. H. Cobb as additional members of the Publishing Committee. They announced, as the place and time of the next meeting, Columbia University, and the holiday week of 1905, the particular time and place to be determined by the Committee of Arrangements, Professors Prince, Jackson, and Gottheil.

From 8.35 to 10 papers were read and discussed as follows:

By Prof. B. W. Bacon, on "Papias and the Gospel according to the Hebrews." By A. S. Waldstein, on "A Trace of Babylonian Influence in the Talmud." By Prof. C. C. Torrey, on "The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah." By Prof. Paul Haupt, on "The Poetic Form of Psalm xxiii."

Adjourned to Wednesday morning.

Wednesday, December 28. — Met at 9.45. Voted that the thanks of the Society be returned to Columbia University, and to the Committee of Arrangements, for the accommodations provided for this meeting.

From 9.50 until 1 papers were read and discussed as follows:

By Prof. W. B. Smith: "The Parable of the Sower originally an Allegory of Creation." By Prof. I. J. Peritz: "A Reconstruction of One of Hosea's Metaphors. Hosea xi." By Prof. G. A. Barton and Dr. H. H. Spoer: "A Harmony

of the Passion Sections of the Gospels in Certain Syriac Lectionaries." By Professor Haupt: "Epicureanism and Stoicism in the Book of Ecclesiastes." By Professor Bewer: "The Literary Problems of the Balaam Story." By Rev. J. A. Montgomery: "'The Place' as a Substitute for the Divine Name in Judaism." By Professor Peritz: "Note on 2 K. 23^{7b}; does this refer to the Cult of Astarte?" By Professor Haupt: "Some Difficult Passages of the Book of Ruth."

The rough minutes were read and the meeting was adjourned.

WILLIAM H. COBB,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT

OF

FUNDS IN HANDS OF RECORDING SECRETARY

Receipts

Balance, last Report	$121 60
Sales of Journal	340 80
	$462 40

Disbursements

1904.		
	Thomas Todd, printing (3 bills)	$11 00
Jan. 15,	Sent Treasurer, on Cushing's bill	100 00
" 14,	Janitor, Columbia University	1 00
Mar. 4,	Berwick & Smith Co., press-work	195 96
" 30,	Carter, Rice & Co., envelopes	2 25
Aug. 23,	Berwick & Smith Co., press-work	77 47
Jan. 11,	Distributing Journal, 1903, part 2	21 00
June 21,	" " 1904, part 1	12 50
Nov. 18,	" " 1904, part 2	16 50
Dec. 23,	Postage and expressage for the year	6 89
		$444 57
	Balance in Bank of the Republic, Boston	17 83
		$462 40

Audited, Dec. 27, 1904, and found correct and accompanied by the proper vouchers.

BENJ. W. BACON,
JOHN R. THURSTON, } *Auditors.*

ANNUAL REPORT

OF

THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

December 26, 1903, to December 27, 1904

Receipts

Balance in hand Jan. 1, 1904	$175 54
Income:	
Initiation fees	25 00
Annual dues	795 48
Loan from J. D. Prince	45 00
	$1041 02

Disbursements

Expenses of Recording Secretary	$12 00
J. S. Cushing for Journal XXII. 2	379 80
Expenses of Treasurer	17 98
J. S. Cushing for Journal XXIII. 1	248 05
J. S. Cushing for Journal XXIII. 2	322 50
Collection charges	2 30
Repayment of Loan	45 00
Cash in Bank	13 39
	$1041 02

Respectfully submitted Dec. 27, 1904.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct, Dec. 27, 1904.

BENJ. W. BACON,
JOHN R. THURSTON, } *Auditors.*

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FOR 1905

President:	William R. Harper, University of Chicago.
Vice-President:	Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University.
Recording Secretary:	William H. Cobb, Congregational Library, Boston.
Corresponding Secretary:	James Hardy Ropes, Harvard University.
Treasurer:	J. Dyneley Prince, Columbia University.
Associates in Council:	William Hayes Ward, New York.
	John P. Peters, New York.
	Frank C. Porter, Yale University.

PUBLISHING COMMITTEE

James H. Ropes, Harvard University.
William R. Arnold, Andover Theological Seminary.
William H. Cobb, Boston.

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Prof. T. K. Cheyne, D.D., Oxford.
Prof. S. R. Driver, D.D., Oxford.
Prof. Adolf Harnack, D.D., Berlin.
Prof. H. J. Holtzmann, D.D., Strassburg.
Prof. A. Jülicher, D.D., Marburg.
Prof. William Sanday, D.D., Oxford.
Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., Oxford.
Prof. S. Schechter, Litt.D., Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.
Prof. Eberhard Schrader, D.D., Berlin.
Prof. G. A. Smith, D.D., United Free Church College, Glasgow.
Prof. Bernhard Weiss, D.D., Berlin.

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[1] This list has been corrected up to Jan. 6, 1906. Members are requested to notify the Secretary of any change of address.

[2] The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

(302) '96 Prof. C. W. E. Body, D.D., 9 Chelsea Square, N.Y. City.
(380) '05 Prof. Edward I. Bosworth, D.D., Oberlin, Ohio.
(370) '03 Rev. Lester Bradner, Jr., Ph.D., Providence, R.I.
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(352) '02 Prof. Caroline M. Breyfogle, Wellesley College, Mass.
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(311) '97 Miss Emilie Grace Briggs, Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(85) '83 Prof. C. R. Brown, D.D., Newton Centre, Mass.
(20) '80 Prof. Francis Brown, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
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(102) '84 Prof. M. D. Buell, D.D., 72 Mount Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
(351) '02 Arthur Bumstead, Ph.D., Elizabeth, N.J.
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XUM

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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1921)

CONSTITUTION

I

This association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council,

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for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, *for the purpose of presentation*, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of $1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

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